Bas Aarts  
(University College London)  
The subjunctive conundrum  
Plenary II, Thursday, 9:00 – 10:00, Room 1010

The view espoused in Palmer (1987: 46) that “the notion of a subjunctive mood is a simple transfer from Latin and has no place in English grammar” is generally accepted in most modern descriptive frameworks. But the consequences of accepting such a view have not been sufficiently appreciated in the literature. In this paper I will discuss a number of approaches to the English subjunctive, and I will argue that none of them deals adequately with the fallout of denying the existence of an inflectional subjunctive in English. I will propose that English subjunctive clauses can be described by making reference to the notion of Subsective Gradience (Aarts 2007), and that the grammar of English should recognise a ‘subjunctive clause type’, along with declaratives, interrogatives, imperatives and exclamatives.


Elsbieta Adamczyk  
(University of Poznan)  
On morphological restructuring in the early English nominal system: the fate of Old English consonantal inflection  
Wednesday, 12:00 – 12:30, Room 1016

The paper investigates the morphological shape of the early English nominal inflection, focusing on the developments which contributed to its later restructuring. A prominent feature of the early English inflection was an evident tendency, revealed by nouns considered minor (unproductive) to adopt the inflectional endings of the productive types. This marked inclination of some nouns can be particularly well seen in consonantal stems, such as r-stems (deriving from PIE *-es/-os stems). The available textual material proves that members of this small declension tend to fluctuate between the inherited and innovative paradigmatic patterns, testifying thus to a growing instability of this declensional type already in Old English. Analogical formations on the pattern set by the productive a-declension can be found in such forms as the nominative/accusative pl. (cealfas, ehras, lomberu, attested alongside the expected endingless calf, æhir, lombor) and genitive and dative sg. (cealfes, cealfæ, hroðre, found next to the archaic cælfur, hroðor). Such fluctuation in the inflectional paradigms attests to an ongoing restructuring process, resulting in the eventual demise of the original stem type distinctions. The factor primarily responsible for the gradual transition of nouns from the minor to the major declensional type is the working of analogical processes, aimed at levelling the irregularity within the paradigm; yet analogy cannot be the only disintegrative factor, and a number of additional aspects need be taken into account to explain the motivation behind the transition. The present analysis is intended to be both a qualitative and quantitative study of the Old English r-stem paradigm. Aimed at presenting a systematic account of this emerging tendency, the investigation will seek to determine the extent and pattern of dissemination of the productive inflectional endings in the original *-es/-os stems. Due attention will be paid to the niceties of the process of gradual reorganisation of this consonantal type, its consequences in the later inflectional system of English and its theoretical implications.
The background for the present study is the observation that we need to take a broader perspective on pragmatic markers, classifying them and describing their class-specific properties. Moreover there are certain areas where research on pragmatic markers is scanty or is missing. For example, we know very little about pragmatic markers or their sociolinguistic use (social class, age, genre, the relationship between speakers) or their distribution across text types. The British Component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-GB) provides a resource for studying the frequencies of pragmatic markers over different text types as well as to study prosodic features of the markers. In addition it is interesting to make comparisons with other regional varieties, in particular American English. In my contribution I will look at the pragmatic marker *well* in a social and regional context. This is one of the most frequent and most discussed markers in English (see eg Carlson 1984, Jucker 1993, Schiffrin 1987, Schourup 2001). However we still know very little about how it functions and how wide-spread it is in different functions in varieties of English.


This paper deals with the non-restrictive infinitival relative clause (henceforth, NIRC) in English (e.g. An independent review, *to be funded by Ealing council and Ealing health authority*, has been commissioned (BNC: A96 443). The discussion of NIRCs has been neglected by linguists, although there have been a number of publications on restrictive infinitival relative clauses on the basis of various approaches (c.f. Berman 1974, Bhatt 2006, Geisler 1998). This paper will, I hope, bring us one step closer to a full characterization of the nature of the NIRC in English through a careful and extensive empirical scrutiny of the construction on the basis of corpus data. The main purposes of the discussion are: (a) to give an accurate description of the syntactic and semantic properties of the NIRC on the basis of corpus data, and (b) to come up with a full and valid specification of the restrictions which apply to the use of NIRCs.

With respect to the first purpose, the corpus-based approach taken here will clarify that the shades of meaning expressed by this construction are similar to ones represented by the *is to* construction: plan, necessity/appropriateness, future in the past, and circumstantial possibility. Regarding the voice of the NIRC, there is a strong tendency for this construction to occur as a passive, although there are some apparent exceptions in which it occurs in the active voice. Concerning the pied-piping construction, we will find that the NIRC has this syntactic variant, though its frequency is very low.

In regard to the second purpose of this paper, the restrictions on the use of NIRC seem to be concerned with the problem of parsing the *to-*infinitive clause, in particular, choosing between an adverbial purposive clause and an NIRC. I will put forward a specification of the restrictions on the use of this construction on the basis of a) the causality between the subject of the NIRC and the situation denoted by this construction, and b) the number of the ‘empty categories’ of the NIRC.
This paper proposes a revised version of Coseriu’s tripartite model of language for the study of the variation and in particular the international variation of English. It will argue that it is especially Coseriu’s third and intermediate level of abstraction, the norm, that can more appropriately bridge the gap between a system-based linguistic ideal and the dynamic nature of actual language use than the simple dichotomy between langue/competence/system and parole/performance/usage. The theoretical discussion will be illustrated by results obtained from a corpus- and web-based study of idiom variation across different national varieties of English.

The proposed model agrees with Coseriu’s model in having a tripartite structure. The most important level in the present context is the level of norm that in Coseriu’s conceptionalization as well as in the present model holds what is “normal”, i.e. habitual within and potentially variable across different speech communities (e.g. Coseriu 1975, 88). The notion of norm and its potential for generating variability will be shown to be the key to understanding the heterogeneous internal structure of national varieties and the frequently statistical rather than categorical differences among them (see e.g. Hundt 2001, 738).

There are also aspects in which the proposed model differs from Coseriu’s model. For instance, Coseriu’s fourth level, the individual norm (e.g. Coseriu 1975, 91), will be more clearly integrated into the next higher level of abstraction, the (social) norm. The resulting level of analysis, termed usage norms in the revised version, will be characterized by a continuum structure gradually leading to the most concrete level of the individual utterance and thus bridging the gulf between individual language use and the linguistic system. The data presented in this paper will in particular illustrate the transition from social to individual.

Standardization vs. language change: first results from 19th-century grammars

Wednesday, 15:30 – 16:00, Room 1098

The 19th century is not generally noted for being a period of rapid language change in English. In fact, it is not generally noted for being anything much at all, since even scholars with an interest in the late modern period have as a rule concentrated on the 18th century as the object of study (e.g. Dossena and Jones 2003; Tieken-Boon van Ostade forthcoming). The impression of stability and only minor peripheral changes that the 19th century still conveys in linguists’ minds may not be quite accurate, as some first studies indicate (cf. Hundt 2004; Smitterberg 2005; Kytö, Rydén and Smitterberg 2006). In this talk, I will show that an indirect approach at language change through comments in more or less prescriptive grammar books of the time can offer interesting first results. My Corpus of (to date 44) 19th-Century Grammars (CNG) is a new resource that allows an interesting complementary perspective on language change. I will exemplify this approach by looking at (standard English) strong verbs, still in a state of flux over the 19th century (Anderwald 2008, forthcoming), which are increasingly being prescribed towards the end of the 19th century, and with comments on a new construction, the progressive passive (the house is being built), where the conservativeness of school grammars can be nicely exemplified, since grammars keep vilifying this construction even at a time when the more conservative rival, the passival (The house is building) is already obsolete. At the same time, the CNG offers a concrete perspective at standardization, since prescription becomes increasingly homogeneous over the course of the 19th century, and grammarians agree on what is to count as ‘good’, educated English, and what is not. In this way, we can indeed directly observe the last stages of standardization.

Asian Englishes such as Singapore Colloquial English (Singlish), Hong Kong English (HKE) and Filipino English all emerged from sociolinguistic contexts that can generally be viewed as heterogeneous contact ecologies, i.e. settings in which languages of significantly different structural type come into contact and generate a substantial amount of variation. In such contact ecologies, it is not uncommon that new varieties emerge, as witnessed in the case of Singlish, a variety in which English, Sinitic and possibly Malay traits combine. While sociohistorical classifications of such varieties of English shed light on their histories and evolutionary scenarios, they do not necessarily enlighten us about the way in which their peculiar grammars evolve. In order to understand the structural type that defines them, we need to reflect on the typological matrix in which the variety evolves, i.e. we need to look into the pool of features that defines the multilingual speech community in which language contact takes place (Ansaldo 2008). This is best achieved by seriously considering the typology of the substrate language(s) involved in the contact situation. With both Singlish and HKE, for instance, common features such as Topic-prominence, zero-copula, aspectual categories, WH-in situ, and pragmatic particles are all derived from basic Sinitic typology. At the same time, the composition of each typological matrix, and the differences between the Sinitic languages (Hokkien and Cantonese respectively), also account for differences between varieties: Singlish, for example, is rich in reduplication patterns, a strategy that is not too common in HKE (Ansaldo 2004), which is explained by the fact that Hokkien (and Min varieties) make a more productive use of reduplication, including triplication, than Cantonese (Wee and Ansaldo 2004). Moreover, Singlish’s typological matrix also includes Malay languages, typically rich in productive reduplication patterns, which reinforce the evolution of such a feature in the new grammar.

The remarkable number of message boards (also known as discussion boards or fora), which have been mushrooming on the internet over the last one or two decades, clearly indicates an obvious need for communication platforms established and visited by like-minded people. Linguistically, these message boards represent yet another hybrid mode of CMC in that they oscillate between orality (spoken mode) and literacy (written mode). Similar to other types of CMC, they have a strong tendency towards the pole of conceptional orality while they are medially realised in written form. In this respect, message boards share more characteristics with chats or instant messaging than with e-mail and also weblog communication. Although message board users have interests and overall topics in common (which is why they visit the respective message board in the first place), they are not a homogenous group that shares similar background knowledge (concerning their interlocutors, the history of topical threads, present (sub-)topics, referents, etc.) and attitudinal or ideological frames of mind. (Especially challenging is the task of integrating “Newbies”, i.e. newcomers to the genre message board itself and/or its current topics.) Thus, participants have to create a common ground (by introducing topics, establishing referents, invoking frames, conveying attitudes and emotions, relating current items cohesively to preceding and following ones) on an ideational, interpersonal and textual level. The interesting question is how this complex goal is achieved in message boards, which differ in their interactive potential and their broad range of multimedial and multimodal features not only from face-to-face communication but also from chats and instant messaging. For instance, to make up for the lack of nonverbal, prosodic and related features of face-to-face communication, message boarders resort to hyperlinks redirecting the user to other webpages or to photos, graphics and even videos, which are embedded into the text.
score appears in the fact that it is highest for dense with sovereign close to it, while water has a nil score. Among nominal premodifiers, mammoth has the highest score, with budget and lightning scoring lowest. This indicates that there is no mass movement of nouns frequently used as premodifiers on the noun-adjective scale, but rather individual positions at a given point in time.

Sabine Arndt-Lappe and Ingo Plag
(University of Siegen)
An exemplar-based approach to compound stress assignment
Wednesday, 15:00 – 15:30, Room 1019

English noun-noun compounds are traditionally assumed to be left-stressed (cf. the Compound Stress Rule, Chomsky and Halle 1968). However, rightward stress (as in morning paper or Madison Avenue) is far from exceptional and recent studies (e.g. Plag 2006, Plag et al. 2007) have shown that the Compound Stress Rule, or rule-based approaches that make use of argument structure (Giegerich 2004) or semantics (e.g. Fudge 1984), are not able to account satisfactorily for the existing variability of compound stress.

In this paper we will test an alternative approach, namely two different exemplar-based algorithms, TiMBL and AM::Parallel. ‘Exemplars’ are stored experiences of previously encountered linguistic items, and exemplar-based models assume that grammar emerges from these exemplars, rather than being the effect of an independent system of rules or constraints that operates on lexical items (cf. Bybee 2001, Pierrehumbert 2001). For compound stress the basic hypothesis is that each new compound is assigned the stress pattern of the majority of those exemplars that are most similar to the new compound. We tested this hypothesis on two large corpora of noun-noun compounds (CELEX and the Boston University Radio Speech Corpus), comparing the performance of our exemplar models with that of the rules proposed in the literature.

It turns out that both TiMBL and AM::Parallel grossly outperform the rule-based implementations. Furthermore, the best results are achieved if the models are fed only with constituent family (i.e. the set of compounds that share one constituent with a given compound) as an information source. These results challenge rule-based approaches to compound stress, but are in line with recent findings concerning the role of constituent families in related studies of compound semi-regularity (Gagné 2001, Krott et al. 2002). Furthermore, our results demonstrate that compound stress-assignment does not necessarily require reference to abstract structural and semantic features.
The ‘age of prescriptivism’, i.e. the eighteenth century, has already drawn much scholarly
attention (cf. Leonard 1929; Milroy and Milroy 1992; Baugh and Cable 1993; Görlach 2001),
but the question of whether linguistic strictures discussed in grammars by Lowth and other
standardisers changed actual language usage has not yet been satisfactorily resolved. Studies
dealing with the latter question have largely focused on the language of the upper and well-
and Auer and Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2007 investigated the normative grammarians’ influence
on the language of individuals, and Auer and González-Díaz 2005 studied the influence on a
macro level by employing the multi-genre corpus ARCHER. In order to gain a more complete
picture of the grammarians’ influence in the Late Modern English period, we also need to
consider the language of people who did not belong to ‘polite’ London society. In this paper I
will thus investigate The Leiden Northern English Letter Corpus with regard to selected
grammatical strictures that are disputed in eighteenth-century normative grammars. The corpus,
which is based on manuscript letters (drafts as well as sent letters), covers the period from 1750
to 1900 and is socio-linguistically stratified according to gender, social class, and educational
background. The reason for focusing on northern letters has to do with the Industrial Revolution,
during which cities in the North of England grew in size and importance. This also brought about
changes in society and education (cf. Beal 2004: 5-6). As the corpus contains correspondence
from different social ranks, e.g. a bookseller as well as a handloom weaver, an analysis of this
corpus promises to shed some light on how effective normative grammarians’ rules were in
different layers of society.

Effects on Actual Language Usage”. Multilingua 24(4), 317-341.
Auer, Anita and Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2007) “Robert Lowth and the use of the inflectional subjunctive in
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Tieken-Boon van Ostade, Ingrid (1987) “Negative ‘do’ in Eighteenth-Century English: The Power of Prestige”. In:
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157-171.
Analysis”. In: Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade and John Frankis (eds) Language Usage and Description.
Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 47-57.
This paper sums up some of the current theoretical assumptions under development in France about the English language. An overview of the problematic issues is given for an alternative description of the grammar of English as outlined along the lines of an utterance grammar. This theoretical framework developed in France was recently categorized as a “usage-based model” and described as “enunciativist linguistics, in which theories of language structure are based on the speech act (eg. Benveniste 1971, Ducrot 1984, Culioli 1995)” (Barlow and Kemmer 2000: 16).

The main characteristics of this approach of English and its interfaces with other current perspectives can be summed up as being:

- marker-based, as epitomized by the metalinguistic habit of referring to the morphemes (- ED, BE + ING) rather than to traditional labels (“preterite”, “progressive”),
- context-driven: the meanings of the markers are analysed in texts or authentic data gathered in corpora,
- semantically-driven: a semantic type is postulated for each set of genuine occurrences encountered in texts. It is also in this sense theory-driven: the language game consists in characterizing the “invariant”, the core meaning of the marker to account for its potential morpho-syntactic (functional) uses (réalisations syntaxiques).

Some of the consequences of this perspective will be outlined as well as parallelisms with Anglo-Saxon frameworks, such as historical pragmatics and grammaticalisation theories. This tradition is rarely heard beyond the borders of the French language (but see Groussier 2000) and this probably calls for an agenda of re-translating the French metalinguistic terms on a target-oriented basis. “Utterance grammar” might appeal more to an English-speaking audience than enunciation linguistic or utterer-centred approach.

Language change, and in particular grammaticalization, has been associated with a number of processes on all levels of language organization (Lehmann 1985). While in earlier analyses phonological changes, in comparison to semantic and syntactic processes, were rather marginalized, with the more recent increase of interest in on-going language change and the improved availability of larger corpora of natural spoken language they are now beginning to be attributed a key position. Thus, Bybee (2001) in her usage-based approach to language change describes the reduction of articulatory gestures resulting from frequency of use as a central feature of the items’ development.

This presentation focuses on a related symptom, namely the reduction of prosodic gestures in language change. Based on work by Wichmann (2006) on prosodic change in the emergence of please, sorry and of course, it investigates the role of the gradual reduction of prosodic parameters signaling intonation unit boundaries. At the same time it further explores the prosody-syntax interface against the background of Bybee’s (2002) hypothesis that sequentiality in discourse is the basis of constituent structure.

As a case in point, this paper deals with one instance of short-term language change in spoken PDE, namely the postulated emergence of hendiadic constructions such as come and see from coordinate clauses (Quirk et al 1985, Hopper 2001). On the basis of a comparison of the frequency and range of hendiadys in two parallel corpora of spoken American-English telephone conversations from the 1960s and the 1990s, it explores the applicability of the criterion of prosodic reduction in the identification of short-term language change.

In 2003, the best-selling non-fiction book in the UK was Lynn Truss’s *Eats Shoots and Leaves: a zero-tolerance guide to punctuation*. This publication seemed to tap into the zeitgeist of early 21st-century Britain with its humorous ridicule of ‘misplaced apostrophes’ and licensing of prescriptivism in the persona of the ‘stickler’ who insists on ‘correct’ pronunciation, pointing to the return of a complaint tradition normally associated in histories of English with the 18th century. Further evidence of this is provided by the existence of organisations such as the Apostrophe Protection Society, news stories such as that concerning the withdrawal of a line of children’s clothing from Marks and Spencer because of a customer’s complaint about a misplaced apostrophe in the printing, and even a quiz programme on BBC4 entitled ‘Never Mind the Full Stops’.

In this paper, I shall examine a range of evidence from printed and web-based sources to gauge the extent of interest in punctuation, and the kinds of discourse employed in discussion of these matters. I shall also compare this with the comparative lack of attention paid to punctuation by 18th-century ‘prescriptivists’. I shall also consider why prescriptivism has returned with such a vengeance in the 21st century, and why punctuation is the main focus of attention.

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This paper explores different aspects of appraisal in (inter-)action. Firstly, it briefly outlines the status of appraisal within the interpersonal system of tenor, one of the three dimensions of register examined by systemic functional linguistics, where it has been described as complementing the systems of negation and involvement (Martin and White 2005). Secondly, the extendability of appraisal theory, an approach originally developed for the analysis of the language of evaluation in written monologic discourse, to spoken dialogic interaction is discussed on the basis of empirical data from British political interviews. Thirdly, suggestions are made as to the integration of insights from pragmatics in order to answer some of the questions that the appraisal framework at its present state leaves unanswered regarding the analysis of spoken dialogic interaction, such as the interpretation and interactive negotiation of indirectness and implicit meaning, especially via conversational implicature and presupposition. Such pragmatic resources are also highly relevant for the construction and modification of evaluative meanings in spoken dialogic interaction, but have not yet been systematically treated within appraisal theory (Simon-Vandenbergen et al. 2007). However, all three subsystems of the appraisal framework – attitude, graduation, and engagement – can be expanded to account for these phenomena as well, as this paper sets out to demonstrate.

In English, noun noun strings (NNs) have sometimes been analysed as compounds if unmarked stress falls on the first element, but as noun phrases if it falls on the second (e.g., Bloomfield 1935, Marchand 1969, Haspelmath 2002). However, the facts do not support this analysis: combinations with certain nouns are always stressed on N1, while other constituents systematically assign stress to N2, and there are many combinations that show variable stress, both between and within speakers. Using evidence from corpora and elicitation experiments, this paper argues that English NNs are not stressed according to a morphological/syntactic divide, but on the basis of analogical patterns in the mental lexicon, themselves the products of semantic and historical factors.

Firstly, it is shown that a syntactic analysis of NNs, regardless of their stress pattern, necessitates the formulation of exceptional phrase-structure rules. The view taken in this paper, that all English NNs are in fact compound words, avoids postulating the existence of such atypical phrases and is consistent with analyses of cognate constructions elsewhere in Germanic.

Secondly, it is argued that stress is assigned to these compounds largely by analogy with related concatenations, a conclusion supported by Spencer (2003) and by Plag et al (2007). The contribution of the present work is to consider how such analogical patterns are established, and evidence is presented for the involvement of semantic and historical factors.

Finally, the considerable inter-speaker variation revealed by the elicitation data suggests that, for many of these items, stress is not a categorical property of the construction, but rather a product of the mental lexicon of the individual. Despite being structurally compounds, some NNs are clearly more phrase-like than others, and those in families with compositional, phrase-like semantics tend also to have more phrase-like prosody. The stress assigned depends essentially on how separate the elements are felt to be in the mind of the speaker.

Much work on language in general and English in particular has focused on micro-linguistic descriptions of grammatical rules that govern the linguistic system – in particular the grammatical system of written, standard varieties. Features such as socio-cultural context, cognitive mechanisms and actual processing factors, which are particularly interesting and important for spoken language, have often been neglected.

Nevertheless, research with a focus on communicative and discourse functions, contextual factors, and features of language in use, has already identified specific phenomena of spontaneous spoken language which also warrant systematic analyses. In some cases (e.g. the Mad-Magazine Construction ‘Him, a doctor?!’) these phenomena cannot easily be explained with the rigid rule-based explanations of traditional linguistics, with its focus on grammaticality and the strict division of language structure and language use.

In this paper, we will concentrate on one particular phenomenon of spoken language which has hitherto been largely ignored: the case of (seemingly) elliptical utterances with interrogative function of the type
Based on a random sampling from corpora of spoken English, we will examine the gradient forms of syntactic reductions, which reveal intermediate steps between the full (standard, written, ‘grammatical’) form ‘Do you want some coffee?’ and the most reduced ‘Coffee?’ (e.g., ‘You want some coffee?’, ‘Want some coffee?’, ‘Some coffee?’). Our analysis will start from actual data, i.e. from language use, and will be couched in construction grammar terms. The central question will be whether the individual degrees of reduction simply constitute a case of ellipsis and should thus be analysed as instances (‘constructions’) of a single construction, or whether some or even all of them form individual constructions in their own right with complex and subtle morphosyntactic constraints and pragmatic functions. Our analysis will thus have to probe into pragmatic principles, frequency, and gradience as one central principle of language, in order to evaluate whether these factors and their treatment in CxG have actually more explanatory power regarding this feature of spoken discourse than minimal sets of traditional categorical rules of syntax.

__Eva Berlage__

(University of Paderborn)

**Is more wordy more complex? Why longer NPs are not always more difficult to process than shorter ones**

Wednesday, 16:30 – 17:00, Room 1098

This paper reviews the common claim that longer NPs are more complex to process than their shorter counterparts. While Arnold et al. (2000), Wasow (2002), Szmrecsanyi (2004), Bresnan et al. (2007) and others have attested a general correlation between the length and the structural composition of an NP in the sense that longer NPs are also grammatically more complex than shorter ones, the present paper argues that this tendency cannot be generalized.

In order to test the hypothesis against empirical data, large scale empirical analyses of British and American newspapers explore the relevance of NP-length and NP-structure for the four cases of grammatical variation delineated below:

1. *She helps the people who are out of work (to) find new jobs.*
2. *He took his enemies prisoner. / He took prisoner his enemies.*
3. *Notwithstanding the brilliant defence by his lawyer, he was found guilty. / The brilliant defence by his lawyer notwithstanding, he was found guilty.*
4. *As far as working in the garden is concerned/goes/Ø, it is a very healthy sport.*

The analyses illustrate that both parameters function as independent determinants of grammatical variation in the cases of infinitival variation following *help* and *take s.o. prisoner*. On the contrary, variation involving *notwithstanding* and the topic-restricting *as far as* construction responds just to the effects of NP-structure.

Overall, the results clearly defy the above claim that the length of an NP always accounts for its complexity. The remainder of this paper suggests criteria according to which we may predict if a given phenomena is sensitive to the effects of NP-length and NP-structure or whether it reacts to the influence of one parameter exclusively.
This talk describes how specialist expository writing in English has steadily evolved over the past few centuries to become increasingly different from the prose (and speech) styles attested in earlier centuries. In particular, the study investigates the hypothesis that expository prose styles have evolved to become increasingly less explicit in the marking of textual meaning relationships (and perhaps also less structurally elaborated). This general trend is documented through historical analysis of a wide spectrum of structural devices, all of which reflect a shift from the use of finite clauses (marked for agency, tense, aspect, etc.) to the increased use of non-finite clauses and phrases without verbs. Specifically, reflecting this general trend, the following linguistic features are hypothesized to have increased in use:

- nouns and adjectives as nominal premodifiers,
- prepositional phrases as nominal postmodifiers,
- non-finite (versus finite) relative clauses,
- appositives,
- the use of colons and semi-colons versus linking adverbials to mark textual relations,
- non-finite (vs. finite) adverbial subordination;
- adverbial clauses that have ambiguous meanings; e.g. as, while, since
- non-finite (vs. finite) complement clauses;
- a general shift from Verb + complement clause structures to adjective + complement clause and noun + complement clause structures
- extraposed constructions

It is 10 years now since the relevant technological specifications for creating Internet-based discussion forums were published by the World Wide Web Consortium. Linguistic research on computer-mediated communication (CMC), however, has so far for the most part concentrated on language use and discourse patterns in other modes of CMC, particularly on email and chat communication. The language use in discussion forums has not been studied systematically, despite the popularity and prevalence of discussion forums on the Internet. The paper presents the results of a linguistic analysis of a long-running English-based discussion forum on aviation-related topics. The main research questions of the paper are: How frequent are alleged linguistic features of electronic communication in English-language discussion forums and does the observed language use show patterns that could be considered characteristics of a kind of “forum English”? How and why has the language use in one English-based discussion forum changed over the past decade? The paper will also address the question of the potential of publicly available authentic language in discussion forums for fields such as sociolinguistics and ELF research.

The study is based on two parallel subcorpora of language data from an international discussion English-based forum which receives contributions by both native speakers as well as non-native speakers of English. Both subcorpora consist of the same number of threads from 1999 and 2007 respectively, allowing detailed synchronic analyses of each subcorpus as well as a systematic micro-diachronic comparison.
Studies on concord patterns and perfect constructions in South Pacific Englishes (Biewer, to appear) have shown that the newly emerging varieties of English in Fiji, Samoa and the Cook Islands are influenced by several factors in their development: second language acquisition, the local substrate languages, angloversals and exonor-mative influences of inner circle varieties of English, in particular New Zealand English (NZE).

To gain a profound insight into the interplay of these factors this paper deals with yet another morpho-syntactic area, the expression of modality in these outer circle varieties of English in comparison to American English, British English and New Zealand English. A special focus will be placed on the indication of obligation and necessity. In British and American English the usage of must and shall has decreased while the usage of need to or have to has increased (Mair, 2006: 107f). Do the outer circle varieties in question show a similar trend? Will the social hierarchy and the politeness system in the Pacific show some effect on the expression of obligation and necessity in English in the ‘outer’ colonies? What is the role of NZE?

Data will be taken from a corpus of newspaper articles downloaded from the internet from newspapers representing the different inner and outer circle varieties. For Fiji English, British English and NZE the press sections of the ICE corpora will also be included. The paper discusses the results as a further step towards a general description of South Pacific Englishes.


The Standard English present tense verbal paradigm displays person-number inflection of the 3rd person singular. In many non-standard varieties of English, however, the suffix -s occurs with the 3rd person plural as well or is present throughout the paradigm. This deviation from the Standard paradigm may be caused by a number of factors, one of which is the *Northern Subject Rule* (NSR). It most strongly determines -s marking of 3rd persons in the Northern part of the British Isles but may also apply throughout the paradigm and in other areas of the UK. Even for transported varieties of English, the NSR is attested, although here as in the varieties of South England -s marking tends to be determined by one of its parts, the *Type of Subject Constraint*, only. In addition, varieties of English in the British Isles as well as transported varieties display generalized -s marking throughout the paradigm irrespectively of the two above constraints and may be reinterpreted subsequently. In the case of past be such reinterpretation results in -s implying positivity and thus unmarkedness.

On the basis of these observations it will be argued that -s marking in varieties of English in the British Isles as well as in transported varieties of English is subject to a gradual process of simplification. In the course of this process the NSR as a very complex constraint is simplified in that it is split with only one of its two parts, the *Type of Subject Constraint*, remaining. Also nonstandard -s starts to spread from 3rd persons to all other members of the paradigm, i.e. regularization takes place. Where it is not conditioned by *Type of Subject* regularized -s has no meaning and will consequently be reinterpreted in terms of semantics.

It will further be suggested that whereas the traditional constraint NSR is a conditioning factor transported to other areas by emigrants from the British Isles, the process of simplification took place independently in source and target region.

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**Christiane M. Bongartz and Stavroula Tsiplakou**  
(University of Cologne / University of Cyprus)  
**When is a variety a variety? Discovering Cyprus English**  
Wednesday, 16:30 – 17.00, Room 1021

To date, research into the multilingual situation on the island of Cyprus has not yet systematically explored the English spoken there, in spite of a rich colonial history and a prominent role of English in the education system. Our paper seeks to provide a first piece of evidence for the (potential) status of Cyprus English as a variety properly belonging to what we now refer to as World Englishes.

Our study takes a contrastive approach and investigates speaker intuitions in *wh*-questions. Taking a minimalist syntactic approach, we investigate effects of bilingualism that can be traced back to features of Cypriot Greek, not standard Greek. The specific and pervasive effects of the language contact situation in the domain of *wh*-sentences we conclude makes it likely that such effects could also be found in other domains, hence justifying a research program that seeks to establish further the variety status of Cyprus English.

The data in this pilot study come from 20 speakers of English with Cypriot Greek and Standard Greek as their other languages, 20 speakers of English with only Standard Greek as their other language, and 20 English-only speakers. The non-native speakers were fluent in English and had received literacy training. They were asked for timed and scaled grammaticality judgments on 100 sentences, with 20 each targeting *wh*-forms relevant to the contrastive hypotheses. Cypriot
Greek and Standard Greek speakers differed significantly from each other, as well as from the control group (One-Way ANOVA; p<.05).

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**Tine Breban and Kristin Davidse**  
(University of Leuven)

**The complex deictic semantics of the indefinite determiner + postdeterminer unit in English**  
Saturday, 10:30 – 11:00, Room 1023

In the English noun phrase (NP) the deictic status of the referent is expressed by determiners. Often, however, determiners alone are not sufficient to describe the complex relation between the referent and the speech situation as deictic reference point. Then supplementary deictic information can be given by a ‘post-Deictic’ (Halliday 1994) or ‘postdeterminer’ (Sinclair 1990), e.g. *opposite in the opposite side of the bridge*. Davidse and Breban (2006) refer to the process by which adjectives acquire postdeterminer meanings as deictification. Because the secondary deictic information is ‘bound’ to that of the determiner, postdeterminers express different deictic values depending on the determiner they occur with. In the context of definite reference, the determiner signals identifiability of the referent. The postdeterminer specifies how identification can be achieved on the basis of deictic notions such as identity (*the same*), location in time (*the old*), etc.

The secondary deictic import of postdeterminers occurring with indefinite determiners has not been studied in detail so far (only Denison 2006). This can perhaps be attributed to the fact that indefinite reference has traditionally been negatively defined as signalling non-identifiability of referents. Recent studies (Langacker 1991, Gundel et al. 1993, Davidse 2004) have dealt with positive cognitive operations involved: the hearer is instructed to conjure up instances as corresponding to an identifiable type. Further subtypes are defined by the question whether specific, arbitrary or representative instances are denoted. We will argue that postdeterminer adjectives have evolved in indefinite NPs to overtly indicate these distinctions, which are not signalled by simple indefinite determiners. On the basis of corpus analysis of adjectives such as *new, certain, particular*, etc., we will draw up a first general conceptual analysis of the central subtypes and more fine-grained meanings (“referent known to some of the speech participants” (*a certain*) (Close 1975, Hopper and Martin 1987)), of indefinite reference that these postdeterminers can express.

My presentation concerns the synchronic variation in binominal size noun uses, as attested in corpus data. With size nouns (SNs), I refer to nominal expressions which, in addition to their lexical meaning, designate size, e.g. bunch(es)/heap(s)/pile(s)/load(s) of and bit/scrap/jot of. These patterns display polysemy that revolves around head versus modifier uses (cf. Brems 2007):

(1) He tries to reach a bunch of grapes that hangs too high. (COBUILD)
(2) There’s now a whole bunch of studies from different cities that show the same things. (COBUILD)
(3) Most of them are a right bunch of misery guts. (COBUILD)
(4) There is not a scrap of evidence that progesterone therapy for PMS works. (COBUILD)

I will argue that describing this polysemy requires looking at these patterns as constructions that are collocationally constrained, pre or postnominally, e.g. bunch of grapes/parsley vs. whole bunch of people/lies (cf. Goldberg’s 2006 ‘partially filled constructions’). A (dependency-based), functional-cognitive model of the NP, combining insights from Langacker (1991), Halliday (1994) and McGregor (1997), alone cannot predict or account for this collocational ‘predetermination’. The synchronic variation in SN-uses, as illustrated by (1)-(4), is furthermore argued to reflect synchronic ‘layering’ (Hopper 1991), viz. it is the result of grammaticalization and (inter-)subjectification (cf. Traugott 2006), involving head to modifier reanalyses and extension or restructuring of collocational range/patterns of SNs. Meshing grammaticalization research more strongly with CxG and corpus studies leads to greater descriptive accuracy and allows to define key concepts in grammaticalization such as reanalysis, analogy and delexicalization more precisely in terms of the functional and formal approximation of a source construction to a target construction, the characteristics of which it gradually acquires, while potentially also retaining properties idiosyncratic of it (Traugott 2006, Langacker forthcoming). Such an eclectic constructional approach can describe the NP as a true locus of variation and change as well as cater for collocationally filled-in patterns.

Langacker, Ronald W. forthcoming. “A constructional approach to Grammaticalization”.
Carsten Breul  
(University of Wuppertal)  
**On a contrast between English and German copular sentences**  
Thursday, 11:00 – 11:30, Room 1019

English and German show a contrast in subject-verb agreement in copula sentences of the type *The winner is me / Der Gewinner bin ich.* This talk presents an analysis of this contrast and suggests ingredients of an explanation for it. The key assumption is that the syntactic subject function is conversely realized by the pre- and postcopular DPs in English as opposed to German sentences of this type. The account of how this difference in the realization of the subject function comes about makes crucial use of considerations concerning grammatical case and inflectional morphology. Information structural aspects are taken into account in order to come to terms with the constituent order peculiarities displayed by copular sentences.

Charlotte Brewer  
(University of Oxford)  
**Prescriptivism and descriptivism in the OED**  
Thursday, 14:00 – 14:30, Room 1015

One of the most valued characteristics of the *OED* is its impartial and objective record of the English language. As its founders described, ‘The mere merit of a word in an artistic or aesthetic point of view is a consideration, which the Lexicographer cannot for a moment entertain…the literary merit or demerit of any particular writer, like the comparative elegance or inelegance of any given word, is a subject upon which the Lexicographer is bound to be almost indifferent.’ Prescriptivism crept into this great work nevertheless, whether in the application of labels like ‘erroneous’ and ‘catachrestic’ to usages widely attested, or in suggestions for how words should be pronounced (e.g. omitting the initial ‘p’ in words beginning *ps*- was, in *OED*’s view, a pronunciation ‘irretrievably mutilated by popular use’). The *OED*’s preference for canonical, literary works as citation sources was a form of covert prescriptivism (given that quotations from real usage are the primary data on which the *OED* is based), and the same could be said of *OED*’s omissions of certain terms (e.g. *lesbian*, ‘female homosexual’).

When R. W. Burchfield came to edit the twentieth-century Supplement to the *OED*, published 1972-86, he widened its remit in a programme of conscious descriptivism – increasing the range of quotation sources, and including more colloquial words, especially those relating to sexual and excretory functions. But as Burchfield himself admitted, he also introduced overtly prescriptive comments on usages of which he disapproved: ‘here and there…I have found myself adding my own opinions about the acceptability of certain words or meanings in educated use’.

My paper will discuss these issues and examine how Burchfield’s return to prescriptivism in the Supplement – reproduced in the 1989 second edition of *OED* – is being treated in the third edition of the *OED* currently underway (2000-).
-ly adjuncts have seldom been the object of investigation in cognitive approaches to English syntax/semantics. Langacker (1991) views them, rather traditionally, as involving a relation between a processual trajector and a region along a comparison scale, see also Nakamura (1997). However, neither scholar addresses the issue of participant-orientedness of -ly adjuncts. Geuder (2000), working in a neo-Davidsonian framework, points out that -ly adjuncts can refer to a property of one of the event’s participants, as in (1) and (2), see also Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt (2005):

(1) Tom shouted at them angrily. (i.e. in an angry manner \(\rightarrow\) Tom seems to be angry)
(2) Tom angrily shouted at them. (i.e. out of anger \(\rightarrow\) Tom is angry)

Angerily in (1) is classified as a manner adverb by Geuder (2000), who (see also Ernst 2001), contends that the verbal event suggests/manifests the property of Tom’s being angry. By contrast, angrily in (2) is classified as a transparent adverb because the adverb only describes the state Tom is in (and this state is the motive for his shouting): the adverb doesn’t describe how the action was performed.

In this paper, I will contend that these two different interpretations of the -ly adjunct can be easily accounted for within a Cognitive Linguistic framework by appealing to the notion of viewing arrangement. In “manner” cases, the conceptualizer (i.e. the speaker) is external w.r.t. the event, whereas in “transparent cases” the conceptualizer is internal w.r.t. it. To put it differently, in the former case she is non-omniscient and hence must deduce participant-oriented properties on the basis of an external input, while in the latter case she is omniscient and thus has access to participant-oriented properties.

I will also argue that this view should go in hand in hand with a schematic characterization of -ly adverbs whereby two events A and B are construed as being coextensive. As is shown by Broccias (2003) for so-called change-constructions, (the construal of) coextension can result from three different arrangements, schematically: A \(\rightarrow\) B, B \(\rightarrow\) A, and A // B (see also Fauconnier and Turner 2003 on such blending operations). That is, A can be the motive (or cause) for B, as in (2), with A = (be) angry and B = shout. A can be the consequence (or result) of B, as in Geuder’s (2000) example He angrily read the letter (where the state of being angry, A, obtains as a consequence of reading the letter, i.e. B). Finally, A (be angry) can simply unfold together with B (shout), as in (1). I will argue that motive and consequence are compatible with conceptualizer’s omniscience, and simple coextension with lack of it.

In sum, by invoking (a) a schematic characterization of -ly adjuncts based on principled blending operations and (b) the notion of viewing arrangement, it is possible to account for the flexibility in the interpretation of -ly adjuncts in a psychologically plausible way.

In this talk I explore popular perceptions of language, in particular linguistic prescription. I focus not on formal acts of censorship such as might be carried out by a language academy, but on the attitudes and activities of ordinary people in, say, letters to newspapers or comments on radio. In these contexts, language users act as self-appointed censors and take it upon themselves to condemn those words and constructions that they feel do not measure up to the standards they perceive should hold sway.

My comments have been inspired by published letters to editors and personal letters and emails I have received over the years. The remarks are also informed by more than sixteen years involvement with the ABC (the Australian Broadcasting Corporation), preparing and presenting weekly programs on language for radio and more recently television. Much of this work involves “talkback” radio whereby members of the public phone in and put directly on air their observations on language and queries about usage. Very often these calls involve complaints about change and the language of others; i.e. their so-called bad grammar, sloppy pronunciation, new-fangled words, vulgar colloquialisms, unwanted jargon and, of course, foreign items. The comments are often passionate and frequently angry.

I argue that speakers’ concerns for the well-being of their language and the kind of linguistic censorship and puristic activities that accompany these concerns belong to our tabooring behaviour generally. Prescriptive practices are part of the human struggle to control unruly nature – in this case, to define language and to force the reality of ‘the boundless chaos of a living speech’ (as Samuel Johnson put it in his Preface) into neat classificatory systems. As with tabooring practices generally, linguistic purists see a very clear distinction between what is clean and what is dirty – in this case, what is desirable and undesirable in a language. Linguists who challenge these prescriptions are challenging their “cherished classifications”. Small wonder there is such a schism between linguistics and the wider community.
The project to be presented is a systematic investigation of speech, writing and thought presentation in a selected electronic corpus of 19th-c. narrative fiction. My research is useful, because a systematic corpus-based approach to discourse presentation does not exist for 19th-c. British English narrative fiction. So far only Fludernik (1993) has explicitly shown the importance of systematically investigating diachronic aspects within narratology.

I will apply the Semino and Short (2004) approach, with modifications (Short 2007), to 19th-c. material to investigate the types, distribution and functions of speech, writing and thought presentation and the ways in which the different categories of speech, writing and thought presentation relate to one another.

I will also compare my 19th-c. corpus with the 20th-c. results gained by Semino and Short (2004) (i) to discover diachronic change and stability in the way speech, writing and thought are presented and (ii) to critically test the Semino and Short (2004) model on more difficult/historical data and (iii) to meet the “need for analysing nineteenth-century English as a link between Present-day and earlier periods of English” (Kytö, Ryden and Smitterberg 2006: 3). Related to this is a discussion of the pragmatic ways in which the investigation of discourse presentation contributes to what Trudgill and Watts (2002: 3) have labelled “alternative histories of English.”

Problematic methodological issues will equally be discussed. These relate to the choice of the corpus of 2,000-word chunks from 20 novels, which is based on diachronic, thematic, generic considerations and considerations of point of view. They also relate to the online and post-processed tagging, and the phenomenon of annotating ambiguity.

On a qualitative base, the investigation of the historisation of speech, writing and thought presentation will address the functional potential of discourse presentation in context, such issues as characterisation, the role of the narrator and the reader with attention to the reader’s manipulation through the interplay between discourse presentation and context, aspects of subjectivity, and the relationship between context, narration as well as paralinguistic features and discourse presentation.

One could argue that not much communication takes place between linguists and the general public, and if it does that the topics of interest, or even concern, the principles of investigation, and the modes of discourse seem to be working along different lines. In other words, even though the object of description, e.g. the English or German etc. language is the same, what actually concerns the general public and what interests linguists can be two different things. This can be demonstrated, for instance, by the amazing commercial success of books such as Bastian Sick’s *Der Dativ ist dem Genitiv sein Tod* and its sequels (2004-2006) in Germany, which indicates that the general public and thus the ‘normal’ language users are worried about or at least interested in what is to be considered ‘correct’ usage. Similar phenomena can also be observed for the English-speaking world. The ‘bestseller’ *Eats, Shoots and Leaves. The Zero Tolerance Approach to Punctuation* by Lynne Truss (2003) may serve as a recent example. Even if we accept that what lay people think about grammar and usage and what linguists make of this topic, can, at times, be very different things, issues like those above show that usage “matters”.

If native speakers and non-native speakers alike are insecure about a question of usage, apart from grammar books and dictionaries they often consult usage guides and tend to regard the information given there as authoritative, hardly ever questioning the tenets or even bias of such reference works. Henry W. Fowler’s *Dictionary of Modern English Usage* (1926) can be regarded as a role model for this type of reference book in Britain, “a volume that occupie[s] the family bookshelf alongside the Bible and a dictionary” and which “clearly has the status of an authority” (Bex 1999: 93). Its immense success and popularity, with new editions in 1965 (revised by Sir Ernest Gowers) and in 1996 (further revised by Robert Burchfield), certainly calls for an explanation. Modern linguistics, however, has tended either to ignore usage guides or to dismiss them as unscholarly works of old-fashioned philologists. Therefore, the underlying idea of the paper is twofold: 1) to investigate the impact of Fowler on the general public, and 2) to scrutinise scholarly opinion about Fowler by having a look at critical reviews of the three editions of *Modern English Usage*.


Much of the research on usage based models of language (e.g. Bybee 2006) has been based on data extracted from large corpora or frequency counts such as in the CELEX lexical database (e.g. Hay 2001). While these methods allow access to large quantities of data, they often combine data from a number of different styles and dialects into the same analysis, forcing the researcher to model theories of language change on abstract language varieties such as ‘American English’. These methods pose particular problems for the usage-based approach which assumes that the speakers’ linguistic system is abstracted largely from their previous experience and, hence, that frequency effects need not be consistent across all varieties or speakers. There is therefore a mismatch between the fundamental assumptions of the usage-based approach and the current methodological practices in which these assumptions are tested. This paper aims to redress this mismatch by considering the role of lexical frequency (in a usage-based model of phonological change) in light of new dialect data from east-central Scotland. Specifically, this paper adopts a methodology which treats lexical frequency as a local phenomenon and examines the effects of lexical frequency on phonological variation and change across a number of idiolects, highlighting individual speaker variation.

The data are from a corpus of 38 hours of conversation (roughly 370,000 words), collected from a community in west Fife. The corpus was compiled over a two year period using the ethnographic technique of participant observation.

This paper uses dialect data to test the claim that lexical items with high token frequency are more likely to undergo phonetic reduction. The results presented here are from multiple regression analyses of two linguistic variables: TH-Fronting and BIT-centralisation. These results suggest that while lexical frequency is a significant motivating factor in predicting retraction of the BIT vowel for these speakers, this is in the opposite direction from that which is expected by the usage-based model i.e. high frequency lexical items are less likely to undergo vowel retraction than low frequency items for these speakers. In contrast, TH-Fronting follows the pattern expected of phonetic reduction, yet TH-fronting is not a phonetically motivated sound change; rather it is primarily a socially driven change in this community. These results suggest that the assumptions of the usage-based model are not always borne out when tested on non-standard idiolects, highlighting the need to employ this type of data when testing theories of language change.
Joanne Close and Bas Aarts  
(University College London)  
Changes in the use of the modals HAVE TO, HAVE GOT TO and MUST  
Wednesday, 11:00 – 11:30, Room 1098

Investigations of corpus data have shown frequency shifts in the ‘core’ and ‘semi’ modals, a decrease in the former and an increase in the latter. More specifically, in the realm of deontic modality, MUST is said to be in decline while HAVE TO and HAVE GOT TO are on the rise (Krug 2000, Leech 2003, Smith 2003). Other previous work comparing HAVE TO and HAVE GOT TO has given contradictory results. For instance, while Coates (1983) states that HAVE GOT TO is the most common form in spoken British English, Tagliamonte and Smith (2006) illustrate that HAVE TO is on the increase and is the preferred form in a number of regional dialects of English. This paper investigates the use of HAVE TO, HAVE GOT TO and MUST in the Diachronic Corpus of Present-Day Spoken English (DCPSE) in a number of environments in which either of the three forms could occur (for instance, as HAVE GOT TO and MUST do not have nonfinite forms, nonfinite forms of HAVE TO are excluded). DCPSE is fully parsed and annotated and contains 400,000 words from the London-Lund Corpus (LLC, collected the 1960s-early 1980s) and 400,000 words from the International Corpus of English (ICE-GB; collected in the early 1990s). DCPSE is particularly well suited for the study current change in English as the data spans three decades. A comparison of HAVE TO and HAVE GOT TO in DCPSE will not only shed light on the contradictory results mentioned above, but will also give an insight into the directionality of language change. This paper will also address the grammatical and social factors driving the change(s) in the modal system.


1 Certainly, the 23 year gap between the work of Coates and Tagliamonte and Smith would seem to suggest that if HAVE GOT TO was the most common form in 1983 and HAVE TO is the most common more recently, that a change is taking/has taken place.
Goldberg’s version of Construction Grammar presents the English ditransitive \([SBJ \ V \ OBJ_1 \ OBJ_2]\) argument structure construction as a prime case of constructional polysemy: the construction’s semantic structure consists of a family of related senses built around a prototypical ‘Agent causes Recipient to receive Patient’ sense (Goldberg 1995, 2006). Each of the construction’s subsenses is associated with one or a few semantic classes of verbs: the combination of verbs of refusal such as deny and refuse with double object syntax, for instance, instantiates the subsense ‘Agent causes Recipient not to receive Patient’.

This paper explores the (recent) semantic history of the English ditransitive. On the basis of data from the CLMET corpus of Late Modern British English (De Smet 2006), it will be shown that in 17th- to 19th-century English, the construction was compatible with a larger array of semantic verb classes than it is in the present-day version of the language. Examples of uses which have either completely disappeared from the grammar or which have been marginalized include the use of the ditransitive with ‘banishment’ verbs such as banish and dismiss, the use of the ditransitive to encode “true” benefactive events which do not involve a subevent of reception (e.g. ‘Open me the door’), and the use of the construction with attitudinal verbs such as envy and forgive. These and other examples suggest that the semantic range of the construction has decreased considerably over the last three to four centuries. The proposed paper will document this semantic shift and will investigate to which extent these obsolete uses – and their demise – can be accounted for within a polysemous approach to constructional semantics.


The present study aims to look at the polysemy of phrasal verbs and their syntactic behaviour. For our purpose, these are taken to include only verb + adverbial particle constructions. The polysemous nature of PVs is not new. Whole dictionaries of phrasal verbs exist to show it. It has also been the subject of numerous studies. However, most of the studies devoted to the meanings of PVs have concerned either of two aspects. First, some have tried to show that PVs are idiomatic, semantically opaque constructions (Fraser, 1974; Courtney, 1985, among others). This claim has been shown not to be sufficiently sustained, which has led to the second aspect of semantic studies of PVs, namely the semantic behaviour of the parts in the combination (Lindner, 1981; Side, 1990; Consigny, 2000 etc.). To our knowledge, no study so far has studied the relationship between the polysemy of PVs and their syntactic behaviour. By this is meant the various parts of speech which can be taken on by a given PV – verb, noun, adjective. Taking as a starting point the various meanings of PVs found in a corpus, the study then looks at the way those meanings are selected when nominalisation occurs. In particular, the relationship between nominalisation and the choice of preposition in postmodification is a factor for sense distinction (Yousfi, 2003). This is in turn linked to the degree of lexicalisation of the nominalised use of the PV. Once a PV has been relexicalised as a noun, then the latter seems to take on one meaning and sometimes even orthographic status as a single word (e.g. “a takeover”). In other words, it becomes somewhat stabilised, while more verbal forms will remain more polysemous, in a similar way to the verb itself.
Accounts of the grammar of Indian English typically highlight a handful of features which contrast with Standard British English, for example the extension of the progressive to stative verbs (*I am knowing you*). There is seldom a consideration of (1) the role of substrate influence, (2) system-internal constraints on the construction in question, and (3) the distribution of constructions across users. An exception is Sharma (2005), which shows, for instance, that articles with less specificity are more likely to be deleted in Indian English, but shows that this dialect feature is still governed to some extent by proficiency.

It is well known that varieties of English may share the same set of intensifiers, but that the distribution of individual intensifiers differs; for example, the grammaticalization of *really* and *so* as intensifiers is considerably more advanced in American English than British English (Ito and Tagliamonte 2003). The distribution of intensifiers in British English (particularly *very* versus *really*) has changed considerably in the last 50 years. Data from the ICE-India corpus show that, predictably, intensifiers in Indian English reflect an earlier ‘stage’ of the BrE intensifier system. There are however also substrate effects.

This investigation of intensifiers in Indian English is influenced by Lim (2007) which shows how pragmatic particles in Singapore English reflect different stages of contact between English and Bazaar Malay, Hokkien, Cantonese and Mandarin respectively. An approach to grammar that is simultaneously typological, contact-oriented and sociolinguistic may reconcile the firm contention by Indian academics that “there is no Indian English”, and the firm contention of academics outside of India that Indian English is a prominent example of a World English.


Fathoming Fowler: how normative is the *Dictionary of Modern English Usage*?
Thursday, 11:30 – 12:00, Room 1015

A commission from Oxford University Press to introduce a new printing for its World Classics series of the first edition of Fowler’s *Dictionary of Modern English Usage* provided the motivation to read the whole of this remarkable work in detail – a first for me (and a task which, I suspect, few others have ever contemplated). The exercise has enabled me to take a view about the extent to which the work can be described without qualification as normative. There is more descriptive content in the work than is generally acknowledged, but the tension between Fowler’s observational accuracy and his normative instincts is evident throughout, resulting in a preponderance of idiosyncrasy and inconsistency.

The ISLE is full of new noises: some trends in applied English linguistics
Plenary III, Thursday, 18:00 – 19:00, Room 1010

There seems to be no end to fresh areas of application for English linguistics. Having grown up in an era when such well-recognized domains as stylistics, lexicography, educational linguistics, and foreign language teaching filled the applied horizon, it came as something of a surprise to realize that these by no means exhausted the potential applications of our subject. The paper outlines three new domains in which I have found myself (unexpectedly) involved in the past five years. An application of English historical phonology met the request by Shakespeare’s Globe for an ‘original pronunciation’ version of Shakespeare’s plays. Several independent proposals have motivated the exploration of a museological English linguistics. And an unknown number of domains are emerging within applied English internet linguistics, in such fields as search-engine assistance, automatic document classification, contextual advertising, e-commerce, and internet security. I illustrate where we are up to in each of these domains, and suggest some research directions.
In the course of its history, English has seen a substantial increase in its reliance on non-finite clauses. This general increase has been accompanied by a recurrent change, whereby an element from the matrix clause has come to be recruited as subject to a non-finite clause. The change can be characterized in terms of a shift from a pragmatic control relationship to a syntactic subject-predicate relationship. The best-known example is the development of the for...to-infinitive construction, where a (benefactive) for-NP serving as complement to a matrix verb/adjective/noun shifted from being the controller of the following to-infinitive to being its subject (cp. Fischer 1988). Compare:

(1) a. Window locks can make it extremely difficult for the thief to break in (CB)
   b. In these cases it is wise for patients to be taken to casualty first (CB)

Drawing on Middle and Modern English corpus data (PPCME2, PPCEME, CLMETEV, CEN CB), it is shown in this paper that the development of the for...to-infinitive construction is not an isolated phenomenon. In particular, we will examine the development of similar constructions such as the on...to-infinitive construction following the verbs count and depend (2) (cp. Rudanko 1988) and the bare NP … to-infinitive construction (3). It will be examined to what extent these newly developed constructions can be shown to be share characteristics with such, at first sight different, constructions as participial with-clauses (4), and presentative there-constructions (5).

(2) a. but before I call on you to drink this toast I’ll ask the Bishop to spake to you. (CEN)
   b. But can I count on your software to do everything you claim it will? (CB)

(3) a. it is goode a man to benke of his owne mysdedis (Visser 1963-73: 964)
   b. hit is nat commendable one knyght to be on horsebak and the other on foote (Visser 1963: 964)

(4) a. hee caused in all the haste al his seruauntes to bee called vppe, and so with his owne householde aboute hym, and euerie manne weaponed, hee tooke the greate Seale with him (HC)
   b. Well with there being so few people erm did you all do everything [...]? (CB)

(5) a. but, instead of the Queen, there was the leg of mutton sitting in the chair. (CLMETEV)


Data sources: PPCME2 = Penn-Helsinki Parsed corpus of Middle English, Second edition.—PPCEME = Penn-Helsinki Parsed corpus of Early Modern English.—CLMETEV = Corpus of Late Modern English texts (extended version).—CEN = Corpus of English Novels—CB = Collins Cobuild Corpus.
In New Zealand, the indigenous Maori language and English have created a language contact scenario of unbalanced but mutual influence (cf. Benton 1985). While the minority language has been under significant pressure, New Zealand English (NZE) has mainly taken lexical borrowings from Maori. Indeed, the presence of Maori terms in NZE is one of the most striking peculiarities of this English variety (see Cheshire 1991, Kachru 2006).

On this background, the focus of the present paper is on the impact of Maori lexical borrowings on NZE and, more specifically, on the phenomenon of hybrid compounding. As noted by Schneider, hybrid compounds such as *whare boy* (‘a shepherd or farm worker residing in designated accommodation’), *blind pakihi* (‘a tract of open land with connotation of bareness’) and *manuka blight* (‘blight of a kind of tree’) emerged as peculiar features of NZE vocabulary only at the beginning of the twentieth century (2007: 130).

From a present perspective, hybrid compounding appears as a productive lexical process in written NZE. Specifically, well-established Maori loanwords show a tendency to combine with English terms (e.g., *aroha job, mana-muncher, rugby mana* and *marae-style*). To understand the formation of such constructions, it is necessary to consider the function of the Maori element and the semantic relation of the compound components. Taking these two crucial issues as the basis of analysis, the paper will investigate hybrid compounds according to:

- the role of the Maori element as head or specifier
- semantic frame theory (cf. Fillmore and Atkins 1992) and contiguity (cf. Koch 1999)

In order to find examples of hybrid compounds, frequent borrowings of Maori origin (cf. Kennedy 2001: 71) will be selected and searched for in *The New Zealand Herald*, the most popular NZ newspaper. The corpus will be accessed via Lexis Nexis in the time span from 2000 to 2007.


Participles are always interesting from the point of view of word classes: verb or adjective? The synchronic problem of where to draw category boundaries for participles is not confined to English, and within English is not confined to the present day. However, within the fairly recent history of English there has been an observable change in distribution of both -ing forms and past participles, illustrated by the allegedly obsolete forms:

(1) She seems sleeping.
(2) I am much interested.

Compare the fully grammatical

(3) She seems happy.
(4) I am very interested.

There is therefore a diachronic angle.
The absence of (1) in PDE is taken to be a clear descriptive fact (it may not be), and furthermore the test of occurrence in the complement of seem is taken as a cast-iron test of adjectivehood over verbhood. Since forms like (1) were certainly possibly earlier in the Modern English period, we appear to have a loss of adjectival behaviour in the participle. (Alternatively, a change in the subcategorisation of seem must be invoked.)

As for (2), the modifier much is one that characteristically occurs with verbs, whereas the very of (4) makes the participle interested look like an adjective. In this case, then, the transition appears to be in the converse direction, from verb to adjective.

In this paper I wish to explore these changes further than hitherto, looking closely at very recent change in participle distribution in corpora and “in the wild” in order to establish the facts more securely, and clarifying the theoretical positions which can legitimately be taken on those facts.
Possessive ’s is widely regarded as either a clitic or a phrasal affix, since it is apparently always found at the right edge of an NP:

(1) [the tree]’s branches
(2) [the tree that we cut down]’s branches

Unlike most accounts, the *Cambridge Grammar* treats HEAD GENITIVES, with inflection on the head noun as in (1), and PHRASAL GENITIVES as in (2), as syntactically distinct, claiming that head genitives are incompatible with a post-head dependent (Payne and Huddleston 2002: 479-81). Example (3) is noted as ‘not acceptable and frequent enough to qualify as grammatical’ (ibid.: 479 n.65):

(3) I could feel the hair stand up on the back of my neck like [a dog’s that is going to get into a fight]

In fact the grammatical (2) type is of low frequency, and its possessor NP is usually a fixed phrase and/or ends with a noun. In our comprehensive database of all possessives in the spoken part of the BNC (10 million words), phrasal genitives constitute just 0.17% of possessive ’s (16 examples). Head genitives with a post-head dependent are almost as common (14 examples):

(4) oh you must put something in a person’s mouth that has epilepsy

And all but one have possessum expressed.

The main aim of this paper, therefore, is to argue that there is only one ’s, and that its position is governed not so much by attraction to the right edge of the NP as by avoidance of other positions that are more disfavoured. Morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic/discourse factors are all implicated. Another aim is to refine recent findings – e.g. (Rosenbach 2005, 2007, Szmrecsanyi and Hinrichs 2007) – on factors conditioning the choice between the ’s possessive and of.


This paper outlines a taxonomy of root possibility interpretations of English modal auxiliaries and semi-auxiliaries. It will be shown that five root possibility interpretations can be distinguished on the basis of three criteria, the interpretations being: ability, enablement, permission, general situation possibility and permissibility. The defining criteria are: (a) the scope of the modality, (b) the source of the modality, (c) the understanding (or its absence) that there is a potential for the source to impose a barrier to actualisation. Even though many taxonomies of root modality have been proposed in the literature, a detailed examination of these proposals reveals a number of deficiencies: in some cases, the criteria suggested are not systematically applied to all the interpretations; in other cases, types of root modality are named without a clear definition of what the category involves. Taking our cue from Bybee (1985), and drawing on the ground-breaking insights in Nordlinger and Traugott (1997), we will show how scope provides a first criterion that sets apart, on the one hand, general situation possibility and permissibility from, on the other hand, ability, enablement and permission: does the possibility concern the actualisation of a whole situation or the relation between subject referent and the action (etc.) referred to in the VP? The criterion of ‘source’ (cf. e.g. Van der Auwera and Plungian 1998, Depraetere and Verhulst to appear) results in a division between, on the one hand, general situation possibility, permissibility, opportunity and permission, and on the other hand, ability. The third criterion, ‘potential barrier’ sets permission apart from the other narrow-scope root possibility interpretations (in particular opportunity) and sets permissibility apart from general situation possibility.

Reed, Susan and Ilse Depraetere (ms) A taxonomy of root possibility in English.
Following traditional grammar, English has gerundive and participial -ing constructions, as in (1) and (2):

(1) I enjoyed reading this book … (BNC)
(2) she is often depicted with a cat’s head while carrying a shield and rattle … (BNC)

While gerundive and participial -ing constructions have developed from distinct structures (i.e. gerunds from a nominal structure and participials from adjectival deverbatives in -ende), their classificatory status in present-day English has come to be questioned. In Huddleston and Pullum (2002) they are treated as one single category, i.e. that of ‘gerund-participles’. In this paper, we explore the distributional, formal and semantic arguments that can be used to establish the categorial status of gerundive vs. participial -ing, using synchronous and diachronic corpus data to come to a better understanding of the language user’s manipulation of both systems.

We argue in favour of a complex and layered typology of -ing clauses. First, we show that the historical distributional association of gerundive -ing constructions with noun phrases still permeates the use of the great majority of gerundive -ing constructions, indicating that the gerund is still salient as a categorial generalisation. The same holds for the historical tie between present and past participles.

Second, the language user to a certain degree generalizes across both systems formally, i.e. by using formal features of one system in the other as well. These formal features are the (originally gerundive) use of of to mark patient arguments in participial -ing constructions, as in (3), and the phonologically reduced form /in/, which historically derives from participials (Labov 1989) in gerundive -ing constructions.

(3) They … came into his gardein … and found him weding of his ground. (1553, OED)

These formal cross-overs indicate that the highly general category of gerundive-participles does have some salience as a category, although the statistical distribution of the features still largely respects the historical categorial boundaries (Labov 1989).

Third, we zoom in on the semantics of gerundive and participial -ing and, in particular, on the semantics of imperfectivization (most typical of the participial, i.e. progressive use of -ing) that has also come to be associated with certain uses of the verbal gerund, as in (4).

(4) It’s hard to imagine her sitting in front of the telly on a Saturday night (CB)

We map out the contexts and conditions in which this imperfective meaning is found with verbal gerunds and determine its position within the gerundive system in general.


While the linguistics of English in a broad sense certainly includes the study of English-based Creoles, there is also a strong tradition in Creole linguistics which seeks to establish these varieties as independent languages, thus placing them outside the scope of the linguistics of English in a narrow sense. In the anglophone Caribbean context, where a range of intermediate forms typically exists between the English “acrolect” and an English-based Creole, such a narrow definition raises the question of where to draw the line.

This question has recently come into focus in corpus linguistics: The International Corpus of English (ICE), whose Jamaican component is all but complete, with another Caribbean component (Trinidad and Tobago) at an early stage, has an explicitly narrow focus on “standard English”, but types of texts which, in the Caribbean context, hardly favour the use of the acrolect, notably conversations, occupy an important place in the corpus design. A possible solution to this dilemma, and the one adopted by the compilers of the Caribbean ICE corpora, is to include the kind of “Creolized English” which may be used in semi-formal contexts in the corpus, with the recording situations for the conversations appropriately controlled. A quantitative approach demonstrates that “Creolized English” shows more Creole features than more formal types of English represented in the respective ICE corpora but remains within the range that can be considered as English, as the overall frequency of Creole features is still fairly low. However, such a perspective tends to downplay the importance of Creole elements: these often have important discourse functions whose analysis requires a qualitative approach. The paper shows how Caribbean ICE data can be fruitfully examined from such complementary quantitative and qualitative perspectives, with examples drawn from the author’s work on grammatical variation in Jamaican and Trinidadian English.
It is well known that in the Middle Ages the superordinate term for such phenomena as grief, fear, love and joy used to be \textit{passion} (and occasionally \textit{affection}). In the modern period \textit{passion} was gradually replaced by \textit{emotion}. Theologian Thomas Dixon (2003) has explained this change as the “creation of a secular category”. While Dixon can point to changes in philosophical, moral and theological writings to support his thesis, it is still awkward that David Hume, certainly a secular writer, should use \textit{passion} about eight times as often as \textit{emotion} and that \textit{emotion} should be quite common in religious tracts of the early 18th and even the 17th century. Moreover, an analysis of literary, philosophical and religious texts (gathered from Gutenberg, Online Books Page, Christian Classics Ethereal Library \textit{et al.}) suggests that even in the 19th century \textit{passion} is still (slightly) more common than \textit{emotion}. Above all, Dixon neglects the earlier Modern English period which is still dominated by \textit{passion} but during which \textit{emotion} is gradually carving out its niche.

As a first step, the paper will give an overview of 17th- to 19th-century authors using / not using \textit{emotion}; it will then trace the semantic development of \textit{emotion} by a detailed contrastive analysis of the syntactic contexts of \textit{passion} and \textit{emotion} from the first attestation of \textit{emotion}, i.e. John Florio’s translation of Montaigne’s \textit{Essais} (not recorded in \textit{OED}) and end with Hume’s \textit{Treatise of Human Nature} (1739/40). It will be demonstrated that \textit{emotion}, while not strictly ‘secular’ from the beginning, never showed the moral overtones which were always connoted by \textit{passion}.

To avoid overlap, the paper will be written in close consultation with Heli Tissari (Helsinki).


\begin{center}
\textbf{Stefan Dollinger}
(University of British Columbia)
\textbf{N/V(ing)+N Compounds in North American English: on the trail of the S-curve}
\textit{Wednesday, 16:30 – 17:00, Room 1019}
\end{center}

Compounding is one of the most actively studied areas in English word-formation (Bauer and Renouf 2001:120) and at the same time a field where “intricate problems abound” (Plag 2003:132). The present study addresses compounding of the N/V+N type, by focussing on the long-drawn competition between N(ing) or V(ing) + N and N/V+N, shown in word forms such as \textit{sailing boat} vs. \textit{sail boat}, \textit{frying pan} vs. \textit{fry pan} and, more recently, \textit{waiting time} vs. \textit{wait time}. The change seems to progress in the direction of N(ing)/V(ing)+N > N/V+N, but some forms seem to be lexicalized (Brinton and Traugott 2005), e.g. \textit{shopping centre} vs. \textbf{**shop centre}, \textit{sharpening stone} vs. \textit{sharp stone}.

In the linguistic literature, the trend towards clipped forms was originally identified in post-war Britain as an American phenomenon (Barber 1964: 21), but the process can be antedated to at least the mid-19th century, as both \textit{filing-pail} and \textit{file-pail} are found in Bartlett’s \textit{Dictionary of Americanisms} (1848) (Gold 1969: fn7). In Canadian English, which is known for its preference of compounds (Harris 1975: 88), the earliest attestation of \textit{sail boat} is from the 1850s, while \textit{wait time}, attested since the early 1980s, has taken a rapid increase in frequency since 2005, when, after years of dormancy, it tripled its change ratio in the past two years.
The present paper aims to inquire into the transition of the change, by interpreting corpus-based data in the context of lexical diffusion (Wang and Cheng 1970). Based on all eligible compounds in fascicle D in the *Canadian Oxford Dictionary* (Barber 2004) and supplemented with eligible compounds from the *Dictionary of Canadianisms on Historical Principles* project (Dollinger and Brinton forthcoming §2), the study outlines the constraints governing the clipping. First results reveal ‘small’ frequency s-curves for individual formations, as well as behaviour comparable to cumulative s-curves for the loss of -ing as the change runs through eligible contexts. For newer variables, such as *wait* vs. *waiting time*, results from sociolinguistic fieldwork allow first insights into the social embedding of the change in Vancouver English.


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**Gavin Falconer**

(University of Belfast)

**A second national language? Substrate and standard in Irish parliamentary transcription**

Friday, 14:30 – 15:00, Room 1021

English in Ireland is in an ambivalent position. Despite being the de facto national tongue, it is constitutionally and symbolically inferior to the minority or second language Irish. While much national effort has gone into standardisation and corpus planning for the latter, now split into divergent dialect islands and exhibiting polycentric codification for pragmatic reasons, the national dialect of English has not been independently codified at all. Nor are there “Irish” dictionaries of Standard English equivalent to Scottish models. At the same time, the speed with which English replaced Irish in the nineteenth century through uncontrolled learning outside the school system has meant that its Goidelic substrate is arguably more apparent than that of Highland English, with at least one commentator (Henry 1957) arguing that its strongest form constitutes “a new language”. The twentieth century, a time of Irish pre-eminence in English literature, also saw the re-establishment of a parliament in Dublin and the independence of 26 Southern counties. Notwithstanding the fact that the first session of the Dáil was conducted largely through the medium of Irish, the language of political debate is the national dialect of English. In this paper, I consider how far the formal, and formulaic, language of parliamentary transcription adheres to extraterritorial norms and, conversely, consider to what extent it retains its national character.

This contribution employs an integrated approach to the investigation of the form and function of the theme zone in English media discourse giving particular attention to the discourse genre of political interview. It is informed by a function-based outlook on language and by a sociopragmatic frame of reference thus supplementing and refining function-based results with context-based parameters (production format, recipient design and genre).

The first part examines the connectedness between a local theme zone and its function in local and global contexts considering especially its definitions and delimitations. Because of its forward- and backward-pointing potentials, the theme zone is of key importance to the construction of discourse coherence, where it may signify a (dis)continuation in the flow of discourse regarding topic, force or attitude. For this reason, a theme zone is assigned the status of a contextualization cue.

The second part examines the functions of a theme zone and classifies them into marked and unmarked configurations with respect to (1) genre, (2) mode and (3) sequential status. It identifies the necessary and sufficient conditions for a theme zone to be assigned the status of an (un)marked configuration and examines their context-preserving, context-modifying and context-changing functions thus demonstrating their connectedness with other constructions of intersubjectivity (Verhagen 2005).

The third part systematizes the results obtained and demonstrates that a context- and contextualization-based investigation of theme zones adds further evidence for the dialogical nature of language and language use.


First proposed by Jack Chambers (Chambers 1995), the notion of vernacular universals (VUs) has been much debated in recent years (see, e.g. Filppula, Klemola and Paulasto [eds] 2008). On the one hand, data from numerous varieties of English and other languages have been adduced to vindicate the concept (Schreier 2008). On the other, it has been argued that vernacular data are either too heterogeneous to allow meaningful generalisations in terms of universals or too domain-specific to be restricted to vernacular or nonstandard forms (Siemund 2008; Trudgill 2008).

In this paper we approach the problem of putative VUs in the light of data drawn from different kinds of vernacular Englishes spoken in the British Isles. The SED Tape recordings offer a rare window to probably the oldest forms of authentic spoken English anywhere and thus make them an ideal testing ground for most of the proposed VUs. We will compare the SED data with similar data from the spoken Englishes of Wales, Ireland and Scotland, which add to the equation the strong presence of another sociolinguistic variable, viz. contacts with other
languages. The results point to the existence of ‘genuine’ VUs in the case of syntactic features such as so-called singular concord in certain types of context and (lack of) plural marking with nouns of measurement. Significantly, both of these are common in other varieties and languages. However, a clear division emerges between ‘high contact’ and ‘low contact’ varieties with respect to other features such as definite article usage. Taken together, our findings shed interesting new light on the nature and ‘locus’ of VUs.


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Olga Fischer
(University of Amsterdam)
The importance of analogy in language acquisition and change
Plenary IV, Friday, 9:00 – 10:00, Room 1010

There is one fundamental difference between functional and formal linguistics with respect to what are considered important mechanisms in language change. Whereas functional linguists emphasize that the language system is the result of adaptation to the pressure of language usage, formal linguists by and large ignore the circumstances under which language is used, because they believe in a strong role being played by the presence of an innate or universal grammar. Two well-known approaches to language change (and language acquisition for that matter, since similar mechanisms must be at work in both), the functional grammaticalization approach and the formal Principles and Parameters approach, well illustrate this difference. Grammaticalization linguists are mainly interested in the semantic-pragmatic factors guiding change, which they believe is gradual, while the Principle and Parameters linguists concentrate on more instantaneous parameter shifts involving mainly intra-linguistic structural factors.

For my talk I would like to emphasize that form and meaning (or function) are equally important: the linguistic sign (this includes lexical morphemes as well as more abstract structures) comprises both form and meaning as two sides of the same coin. These are indivisible and make up what Anttila (2003, in the Blackwell *Handbook of Historical Linguistics*) has called ‘the analogical grid’. I will argue that analogy should be seen as the main mechanism operating in change (cf. Itkonen 2005, Fischer 2007, Wanner 2006, pace Harris and Campbell 1995, Hopper and Traugott 2003 and others who consider re-analysis the most important mechanism). I shall illustrate the important role played by analogy, as a general cognitive principle, linking it to the two evolutionary oldest modes of thinking: the iconic and the indexical mode (cf. Deacon 1997). I will show by means of a case study concerning the development of pragmatic markers that the grammaticalization approach is not adequate in that more notice should be taken of the conventionalized formal system of language in which the development takes place and which, next to external factors, influences the course of development. I will indicate that it is analogy rather than the usual Lehmannian parameters of grammaticalization or subjectification, that is at work in the change. This approach has a further advantage. It will explain the awkward behaviour of scope, which according to Tabor and Traugott (1998) increases rather than decreases (as it should according to Lehmann’s parameters). In addition, it takes into account other problems noted in connection with grammaticalization, which an increasing number of formal and/or historical linguists believe should be seen as an epiphenomenon rather than as a mechanism of change in and by itself.
Literary texts are highly valued in our culture and have been studied linguistically in stylistics. But their analyses have frequently been restricted to short texts, such as poems, or to extracts from longer texts. This has been due to a lack of usable techniques for the analysis of longer texts such as novels. However, the technical development in corpus linguistics now allows for the analysis of large quantities of data so that also longer texts have become open to analysis. This paper demonstrates firstly how literary meaning of Jane Austen’s novel Northanger Abbey can be extracted by using corpus linguistic techniques in the analysis of some of the text’s recurrent phraseological units. These units contribute not only to cohesion and coherence but also encode implicit meaning in the novel. They encode, for example, the characterization of protagonists and places and help to explain readers’ intuitive reactions to the text.

Secondly, the most frequent phraseological units from a corpus of literature contemporary to Austen are presented and structural features of the corpus are identified by way of its most frequent phraseological units. The differences between the most frequent phraseological units identified for Northanger Abbey and for the corpus are used to identify and illustrate structural differences between the two sets of data. Then, differences between potentials for the analysis of these two kinds of data by way of the same linguistic techniques are discussed.

Finally, this paper suggests that the techniques demonstrated for the analysis of fiction texts and corpora can also be used for the analysis of non-fiction texts and corpora. This shows that corpus stylistics could take a key position in the development of techniques for text analysis.

The paper is meant to illustrate the stimulating impact of linguistics both in its modern (discourse analysis) and philological (historical pragmatics) garb for diachronic narratology. The example I want to focus on is narrative structure, particularly the use of discourse markers and the historical present tense, in natural narrative (everyday conversational narratives) and in early English narrative texts (1250-1750). The emphasis will not be on laying out the facts primarily (these I have dealt with extensively in published work and am refining in work in progress), but on discussing the theoretical and methodological challenges of combining a philological toolkit with the terminology and methodology of modern linguistics in various subdisciplines. In particular, I will be talking about the difficult borderline between stylistics and rule-governed syntactic analysis. I will also focus on the form-function relations and on the problem of diachronic development and the kind of questions that an emphasis on change give rise to. These latter include, for instance, the problem of restructuring of a system; the issue of refunctonalizing elements that had a specific place within one system at point A into elements that serve a quite different function within a new pattern; or the conundrum of performance within a historical framework.
In this paper, I explore the construction of identity in narratives by bloggers on the video platform “youtube”. This genre-bound investigation aims at the particular features involved in speech on video blogs (vlogs). Most vloggers film themselves with no one else around. Later this footage is uploaded to the internet, free for anyone to watch. Since there is no real-time communication (as in the case of chat/video-chat), most vlogs are characterized by their monologic nature. Identity is therefore not elicited in a joint production in conversation, but in a one-person performance – planned beforehand to an unknown degree.

My paper explores examples where the speaker stops him- or herself as if interrupted by a listener:

1. then we move over
2. I’ve got a fruiton
3. yeah I called it a fruiton (background: the speaker is giving a tour through the part of his house where he makes his videos)

Here, the speaker tells his viewers about a piece of furniture (which, judging from the pictures, appears to be a regular couch). The “yeah I called it a fruiton” in line three acts like the answer to an imagined question by the viewers “do you really call that a fruiton?” With this example, such an extra explanation is understandable, since “fruiton” is an invented word (presumably a blend of “fruit” and “futon”), and if there were some listener present to react directly, there would very likely be some kind of question about that word.

My paper investigates bloggers’ construction of identity with respect to how they deal with the fact that there can be no immediate reaction, how they compensate for that lack, and sometimes use it for their own (humorous) purposes.

In addition to NP/DP-anaphora (personal pronouns, etc.), verbal or VP-anaphora (do so) and adjectival anaphora (so), languages typically also have expressions relating to sentential antecedents. In English the neuter pronoun (it) and an expression originally denoting manner deixis (so) are used in this function and may correspond to either es/das or ja in German. Our paper will discuss the distribution, meaning and use of these sentential anaphors with a focus on (i) the choice between the two anaphors in each language, and (ii) the contrasts between the two languages.

In both English and German the two anaphors partly overlap in their distribution and thus may contrast in their meaning:

(1) English: She said it. vs. She said so.
(2) German: Ich glaube es. vs. Ich glaube ja.

Only so is possible after sentential adverbials and in conditionals in English (cf. [3]–[5]). This expression may also relate to an adjective as antecedent (cf. [6]):

(3) apparently/unfortunately/... so
(4) If so we will have to do something about it.
(5) If you so wish, we can always leave immediately. (sentence anaphora)
(6) Fred is intelligent and so is George. (adjectival anaphor)

Whether so is licensed in the object position of verbs embedding sentential objects seems to depend on aspects of meaning. Precisely which factors play a role here (e.g. factivity vs. propositional attitude) will be a major point of our discussion.

The choice between das/es and ja in German is only partly parallel to that between it and so in English. It is doubtful whether ja can be considered as an anaphor at all, since this particle is invariably stressed (in the relevant uses), and is typically in opposition to the other answering particle nein. On the other hand it may also follow conditional conjunctions (falls ja, ...).

Our paper will also include a brief discussion of the historical development of so from a deictic to an anaphoric marker. Moreover, we will take a brief look at some other languages in order to find further evidence for the relatedness between manner deixis and affirmation (cf. tak in Polish or si in Italian and Spanish).
Of course it is legitimate to criticize a language: (a) a particular language as such and (b) its usage. Language and language usage are different things, although, in the last analysis, I conceive of a language as the product of its usage. The only real – linguistic (in the sense of *sprachwissenschaftliche*) – problem is to decide whether language criticism has a place within linguistics proper. I clearly tend to say no. The task of linguistics is to describe and to explain, both diachronically and synchronically, and this limitation (actually relating to an enormous field) is due to the fact that criticism presupposes criteria and that it is downright impossible to find specifically linguistic criteria for such a criticism (here ‘linguistic’ means ‘objective’).

On the other hand, from another point of view, criticizing language is inevitable and even necessary. Moreover it corresponds to an element inherent in the ‘normal speakers’ themselves – certainly in the educated ‘normal speakers’ (whatever that may be) who tend to use their language in a way that distinguishes them from others they consider ‘less cultivated’. Now there is a sort of language criticism, traditionally strong in Germany (but not at all limited to this country or to the German speaking countries) which is problematic, reprehensible and even dangerous: the one based on the national(ist) criterion. But here again we have no possibility to criticize this criterion from the point of view of linguistics. We just can describe and explain it.

Then there is the problem (but once again not a problem of linguistics) to know exactly – but this borderline is most important – when the ‘national’ criterion, which could be considered as legitimate or acceptable, turns ‘nationalist’. The argument against the increasing number of English elements in everyday language usage traditionally put forward in Germany is summed up in a word which is rather difficult to translate into English: *Überfremdung* (‘foreign infiltration’). It expresses the fear the core of German language might be destroyed by this infiltration from outside, the German language could cease to be German by a sort of erosion from outside because of the lack of resistance from inside, the lack of ‘national dignity’ which characterizes, for instance, we are told, the French and the Spanish speaking communities, etc. etc.

The “Verein für Deutsche Sprache”, a society successfully founded by the economist Walter Krämer – successful at least by the astonishing number of its members – represents that sort of national (or cryptonationalist?) language criticism. So ‘national’ or ‘nationalist’ – that is the question. Well, one of the questions.
In his classic book, *English Dialect Grammar* (1905), Joseph Wright made an often overlooked but essential point, namely, that dialect speakers have their own standards of linguistic acceptability. In other words, spoken vernaculars possess their own registers which do not necessarily reflect those of the literary norm.

In the first part of this paper, I seek to determine whether this applies to Appalachian English (southern white English more generally) and African American Vernacular English and, if so, what grammatical features characterize the registers. One source of inquiry which may offer some insight into this question is the oral traditions of the linguistic communities under investigation: religious texts (ex. King James Bible, the language of sermons and hymns), orally transmitted lyrics of secular songs (ballads/working songs, blues) and, finally, selections of spontaneous speech in the form of recorded interviews. Appalachian ballads, for instance, could be of particular value given that a number of corresponding British versions dating to the 17th century and before have survived. The underlying hypothesis is that certain grammatical features will appear more frequently in some sources than in others. This idea, in turn, is reinforced by the fact that, prior to the First World War, relatively few people in the American South and Midland regions had access to formal schooling and that the influence of the national norm (Standard American grammar and “General American” pronunciation) on the varieties concerned was rather limited until quite recently.

The main objective of this paper will be to compare the linguistic features of these sources according to linguistic community and text type in order to highlight points of linguistic convergence and divergence and, more specifically, to distinguish between those characteristics which can be traced back to Britain and/or Ireland and those that may have developed on the North American continent as a result of Creole influence and/or the development of (a) North American koiné(s)).
The English noun phrase (NP) has a specific functional-structural make up, with a long prenominal string accommodating different adjectival functions. Synchronously, the prenominal string is generally considered to constitute a left-right subjective-objective continuum (e.g. Quirk et al. 1972, Vandelanotte 2002). Diachronically, it has been hypothesized that prenominal elements may acquire increasingly subjective meanings and at the same time move to more leftward positions in the NP-structure (Adamson 2000). For this paper, the development of completeness adjectives will function as a test case of Adamson’s (2000) leftward movement (LM) hypothesis, which for its theorizing refers mainly to Traugott’s hypothesis of unidirectional (inter)subjectification:

non-subjective > subjective > intersubjective  
(Traugott 2003)

A functional-grammatical analysis of complete, total and whole was carried out, using data from four diachronic corpora (York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE), Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English (PPCME) and Early Modern English (PPCEME), and the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts (CLMET)) and the synchronic COBUILD corpus.

Analysis showed that all three adjectives have developed both subjective strengthening uses and intersubjective postdeterminer uses, but that the different paths to these uses did not always fit in with the unidirectionality and LM hypotheses. For complete, for instance, postdeterminer uses, as in (1), which are situated at the leftmost end of the NP, were found some 200 years prior to the emphasizer use, as in (2). Moreover, it seems that the subjective emphasizer use developed from the intersubjective postdeterminer use. The development of complete thus questions both the unidirectionality and the LM hypothesis.

(1) Wee have thought fit in pursuance thereof to signify to you Our Pleasure that the last choice made by the Lord Mayor of that Our Citty of the compleate number of Com~on Counsell men all at once,… (PPCEME)

(2) But, indeed, the great peculiarity of this writer is the complete one-sidedness of his argument. (CLMET)

This paper will explore to what extent the hypotheses of unidirectional (inter)subjectification and concomitant progressive leftward movement in the English NP apply to the development of complete, total and whole. Particular attention will also be paid to the different pragmatic-semantic changes taking place in the development of the completeness adjectives.


Far from being a clear-cut distinction, the EFL–ESL distinction should be viewed as a continuum, with exclusive classroom learning in a country where the target language (TL) is not a native or second official language at one end, and exclusive naturalistic acquisition in a country where the target language is a native or second language, at the other, and a large number of intermediary stages. Broughton et al (1980: 7) provide the following illustrations: “The distinctions between English as a second language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) are [...] not as clear cut as the above may suggest. The decreasing role of English in India and Sri Lanka has, of recent years, made for a shift of emphasis to change a long established second language situation to something nearer to a foreign language situation. Elsewhere, political decisions are changing former foreign language situations. Official policies in, for example, Sweden and Holland are aiming towards a bilingual position where all educated people have a good command of English, which is rapidly becoming an alternate language with Swedish and Dutch – a position much closer to ESL on the EFL/ESL continuum.”

The International Corpus of Learner English (Granger et al., forthcoming), which contains data from 16 different learner populations in a wide range of learning/acquisition settings, is an ideal resource to investigate the effects of these contextual differences. In our presentation we will compare the following four populations: (1) Spanish-speaking learners, who have learnt English in a classroom setting in a non-TL environment with very little exposure to the TL; (2) French-speaking learners, who have learnt English in a similar context but with greater attention to form in the classroom; (3) Dutch-speaking learners, who have also learnt English in a non-TL environment but have had extended exposure to English from an early age via other means (television, non-dubbed films, etc.); (4) Tswana learners who, although living in a country where English is a second language, have had very little contact with native speakers of English in their daily lives but have had instruction in English from the fifth grade onwards.

We will focus on one of the aspects of language which one can expect to benefit most from wider exposure, viz. phraseology, and more particularly on a subset of multiword verbs that Schneider (2004) calls ‘particle verbs’, i.e. idiomatic combinations of a verb and a particle (preposition as in look after or adverb as in give up). These verbs have been the focus of a range of recent studies based on expanding and/or outer circle varieties of English. Although distinctive uses of these verbs are presented as (largely L1-induced) infelicities or errors in the former (Milton 2001, Rong-Rong 2001, Brala 2002) and new nativized norms or creative innovations in the latter (Lowenberg 2002, Schneider 2004, Mukherjee forthcoming), the two sets of data clearly have a degree of commonality (Nesselhauf 2007), as evidenced by the joint use (though in different frequencies) of particle verbs such as discuss about, invite for or emphasize on.

In our presentation we will report the preliminary findings of a large scale corpus-based investigation of these verbs in the four ICLE subcorpora referred to above. We will highlight the link between the amount of exposure to English and the frequency and type of particle verbs used, thus showing to what extent the EFL-ESL continuum defined for the subcorpora on the basis of the learning/acquisition setting is reflected in the learner production. By doing so, we hope to shed light on the recent field of “learner Englishes” and open up new avenues for research in this domain.


In this paper I argue that construction grammars offer a theoretical basis for exploring grammaticalization: because construction grammars are symbolic theories of grammar, they permit the analyst to model incremental changes in semantics (such as bleaching and subjectification) and how those changes can lead to reanalysis of the syntactic associations within a construction. However, the argument for a symbolic theory of grammar, which is organized in terms of meaningful constructional units, does not necessarily mean that constructions can undergo grammaticalization. We could argue simply that constructions allow lexical items’ distributions to change and that grammaticalization happens to lexical items through different constructions.

In this paper, on the other hand, I argue that constructions themselves can undergo grammaticalization—certain kinds of meaning can become conventionalized within constructions as part of the constructional meaning; constructions can develop polysemy, leading to changes in their meanings; and constructions can become increasingly schematic. There are various well known processes that took place in the history of English which allow us to explore this area of meaning.

In this paper, I look at quirky case marking which is found both in earlier varieties of English and Icelandic. These are patterns where the apparent subject of a raising verb surfaces in the ‘wrong’ (dative) case (Andrews 1982). Similar phenomena are found in south-Asian languages (Bhaskararao and Subbarao 2004). In these cases, the quirky case marked NP meets the usual syntactic diagnostics for a subject, for all that it is in the wrong case. I argue that constructions are made up of smaller constructions, and that semantics can drive a reanalysis of relations like subject-of, which are part of the larger predicative construction, giving rise to a mismatch phenomenon where the morphosyntactic realization of an argument is out of kilter with its syntactic standing. At the same time, nominal case is sensitive to lexical and constructional semantics: crucially here the dative case marking is a consequence of the constructional meaning. Quirky case marking is argued to be an ‘interim’ construction of the kind that can occur during processes of grammaticalization.

Modelling the changes involved in the development (and loss) of quirky case marking in English in this way requires a some rethinking of the nature of construction grammars. In particular, there are questions about granularity and syntactic relations. Often, construction grammars are understood to be associations between phrasal syntax and semantic frames. In order to model quirky case marking, it is necessary to treat specific grammatical relations such as Subject-of as constructions, and to model the kinds of regular semantic association between grammatical relations and semantic functions as a level of constructionhood. Grammatical relations are commonly taken to be parts of constructions—Goldberg (1995) and Croft and Cruse (2004)—but we shall see that treating grammatical relations as a specific class of constructions permits a subtle fine-grained analysis of this particular grammatical change.
It has been pointed out in previous research (cf. e.g. Conklin and Schmitt 2007) that frequent formulaic sequences (or multiword chunks or lexical bundles) are not only characteristic of English as a Native Language (ENL), but can also be found in non-native Englishes. There are, however, differences between native speakers and non-native speakers with regard to the frequencies and functions of formulaic sequences. To a certain degree, these differences are caused by the different acquisition processes, as first-language acquisition is held to be more holistic in nature while second-language acquisition tends to be more analytic (cf. Wray 2002). Also, non-native speakers have been shown to use prefabricated language in functionally different ways from native speakers by, for example, using more pragmatic prefs than lexical prefs (cf. Wiktorsson 2000). Such functional differences in the use of formulaic sequences may be related to different contextual conditions for the use of English as well as by different fluency strategies in native and non-native users’ speech.

We assume that the use of formulaic sequences by competent speakers of institutionalised varieties of English as a Second Language (ESL), e.g. Indian English speakers, shares some aspects with ENL and some other aspects with English as a Foreign Language (EFL), e.g. German learners’ use of English. The hypothesis is based on the fact that, on the one hand, ESL varieties are nativised varieties with a wide range of intranational communication situations in which English is regularly used (like ENL), while, on the other hand, ESL is acquired as a second (or even third) language in educational institutions (like EFL).

In our talk, we will focus on formulaic sequences in corpora of spoken British English (ENL), spoken Indian English (ESL) and English spoken by advanced German learners of English (EFL). We will report on findings from a comparative pilot study and discuss to what extent the use of formulaic sequences is the same across spoken ENL, ESL and EFL and where we find differences in frequencies and functions. For example, our corpus data show that while there is a large area of overlap in the use of frequent multiword expressions across ENL, ESL and EFL, there are also variety-specific preferences, e.g. in the use of individual epistemological signals. Native speakers, for example, prefer the expression (and) things like that, whereas the most frequent and typical Indian English equivalent is (and) all those things and German learners tend to use something like that. The present paper will provide a systematic overview of the use of lexical and pragmatic prefabs in spoken variants of ENL, ESL and EFL.


Previous work on normative English linguistics has focused on two main areas of research, namely, the works of late 18th c. grammarians (e.g. Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2005) and their impact on social networks (e.g. Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1996, 2000; Sairio 2006) and general contemporary language usage (e.g. Auer 2006, Auer and González-Díaz 2005). More recently, Beal’s (2007) pioneering work has looked into manifestations of what she labels instances of “new prescriptivism” in present-day manuals of etiquette and rhetoric, concluding that the new prescriptivism “signals a backlash against what is perceived as the laissez-faire attitude of late twentieth-century linguists and educationalists”. It is the latter group that interests us in this paper.

The history of English grammar teaching in schools has gone through a predominantly prescriptive tradition in the 18th c. to an allegedly descriptive approach in the 20th c.: the most important features of the National Curriculum (1991) are “the absence of the word error” and that grammar-teaching is intended to be “descriptive, not prescriptive” (Hudson and Walmsley 2005:611). The years immediately before the NC thus deserve special attention.

Based on the LLMC Corpus (a collection of school surveys commissioned by the government’s Assessment Performance Unit between 1979 and 1988), this paper investigates the prevalence of the 18th c. grammar-teaching tradition (Michael 1987) in the late 20th c. educational domain. We will first draw a comparative analysis of selected grammatical and orthographical features in two data sets. These latter will at a later stage be matched against contemporary teaching materials (cf. Burns 1976). This type of analysis will allow us not only to track short-term changes in the educational agenda of Thatcherite government but also to examine critically the extent to which its goals and methods mirror those of the 18th c. prescriptive approaches to grammar-teaching.


This paper will discuss some aspects of the historical development of certain English modal auxiliaries, namely *may* and *ought* (to), focusing in particular on the semantic change and the decrease in frequency of their occurrence in literary texts.

There exists a general consensus on the change currently happening in spoken English: *can* and *should* are consistently replacing *may* and *ought* (to) in many of their functions. How established this change is can probably be concluded from the analysis of the written body of language, which traditionally embraces semantic change with delay. I will compare the occurrence of the two pairs of modal auxiliaries that seem to be showing the tendency of merging together in numerous British and American literary texts of the 19th and 20th centuries by the renowned authors (e.g., J. Austen, A. Christie, J.K. Rowling, and others).

I am going to analyze the semantic functions of *may* that have been adopted by *can*, among them the expression of possibility and permission, contributing to the more extensive use of the latter. I will also discuss how the ability of *should* to participate in subjunctive constructions may be viewed as one of the factors reducing the role of *ought* on the semantic map of English.

The steady decline in the use of *may* and *ought* by writers is not a recent phenomenon, but rather a reflection of the systematic process of semantic change that has been taking place for several centuries, usually following the spatial-temporal-existential path of development. I will give a brief overview of this change from the Old English texts, where they function as proper verbs, through their grammaticalization and subsequent semantic change (Middle English texts) to merger of their functions (contemporary texts). I will attempt to explain the direction of the semantic change observed and account for the internal (from concrete to abstract meaning) and external (globalization and pidginization/creolization processes) factors promoting it and making it possible.

turn-taking, turn-construction etc., CDA raises the awareness that the particular discourse type of coaching is professional, institutionalized communication that is influenced by questions of power and dependency.

Starting out from the stocks of interaction knowledge (Peräkylä and Vehviläinen 2003), based on the (idealized) coaching literature and training concepts of how coaches should communicatively interact with their clients, this method wants to show how coaches really communicate with their clients, both on a strategic as well as tactical level.


Solveig Granath and Michael Wherrity
(University of Karlstad)

Just what everybody is loving and wanting: a unified approach to so-called stative verbs in the progressive
Thursday, 11:30 – 12:00, Room 1023

English verbs are often classified on the basis of whether they refer to events or states; the former are usually called dynamic and the latter stative. One characteristic of stative verbs, often mentioned in grammars, is that they are only rarely used in the progressive. Quirk et al.’s explanation for this is that “stative verb meanings are inimical to the idea that some phenomenon is ‘in progress’” (Quirk et al. 1985: 198). The same idea is behind Mair’s claim that “it seems plausible to regard the use of progressives with stative verbs as an instance of contextually/pragmatically licensed rule-breaking for specific rhetorical or expressive effect” (Mair 2006: 92; our italics). Quirk et al. (1985: 178) also maintain that the distinction is based on meaning rather than properties of the verbs as such, and that “one verb may shift, in meaning, from one category to another” when it appears in the progressive.

In this paper, we take a functional-semantic approach and argue that -ing has a basic, invariant meaning, process, which is operative in all linguistic contexts, and that speakers’ choice of the [BE + V-ing] construction with all verbs is motivated by the message(s) they wish to communicate (see Wherrity 2001). Such -ing messages as ‘vividness’ and ‘continuous activity’ for example (which are ultimately answerable to the basic meaning) represent additional semantic parameters which, while elaborating on, do not involve a shift in verb meaning. We also propose that the notion of progressivity (advancing), when present, does not come from the -ing or the construction itself, but rather from the semantics of the verb (as in ‘the leaf is decaying’) and/or from additional elements in the utterance. Thus, in the case of the “stative” love, the message may be directional and incremental (hence ‘progressive’): ‘I’m loving you more and more each day’ or non-directional and non-incremental: ‘I’m loving every minute of it’ (cf. the parallel case with the “dynamic” verb boil: ‘the water is boiling away’ vs. ‘the water is boiling’). Finally we argue that irrespective of whether rules based on the questionable dichotomy of stative/dynamic are broken, so-called stative verbs can be and are used in the [BE + V-ing] construction whenever the communicative need arises.

To support our analysis, we conducted a search of a British newspaper corpus, the Guardian/Observer, spanning almost two decades, for examples of verbs normally classified as statives appearing in the [BE + V-ing] construction. In brief, we found that not only do most of the 48 verbs investigated occur in this construction, but that in the case of some, e.g. love, think, hear and see, there has been a slow but steady increase in frequency of occurrence since 1990.

Linguists have already carried out valuable corpus-based research on English as a lingua franca, on cross-cultural pragmatics, on cross-cultural semantics and on communicative success and failure. Since a competence in English is nowadays a key qualification on the international as well as on national labor markets, the results of these linguistic studies have been used to create a language model that aims at enabling people to acquire global communicative competence in a rapid way: Basic Global English (BGE). BGE consists of 750 words to be mastered by all learners and 250 words to be selected by each learner individually, some word-formation rules, a low number of grammatical rules, the most important phonetic rules and a number of transculturally useable conversational strategies. The paper shall illustrate the development of BGE and a report on its first experiences with children and adults.

Concepts such as ‘native language transfer’ and ‘learner errors’ are often invoked for the description and explanation of the structural properties of new English varieties. Quirk (1990: 5) calls them results of general second language acquisition processes. Hickey (2004: 529) posits that a speaker’s first language (L1) has a decisive influence on the structure of their L2 English. Likewise, Schneider (2003: 248) proposes that new varieties of English show features that are based on transfer from indigenous languages. However, the few empirical studies comparing structures in new English varieties and second language productions did not find convincing evidence for L1 transfer. Rather, they suggest that it is extra-linguistic factors such as norm orientation which determine the specific structural properties of the New Englishes (Simo Bobda 2003, Gut 2007).

In this talk, some of the key questions in the field will be raised: To what extent does L1 transfer constitute the basis of some structural properties of the New Englishes? Can they be described as learner errors? At what stage in the development of a variety does transfer occur? Which of the ‘learner errors’ is likely to enter the structure of an emerging variety? I will argue that the discrepancy between theoretical claims and empirical findings is due to the complex nature of the concepts ‘L1 transfer’ and ‘learner error’. Based on findings from second language research, an overview will be given of the different ways in which L1 structures can be transferred to a second language. It will be shown that L1 influence should be conceptualized not as direct structural transfer but rather as the use of L1 knowledge that can manifest itself in very diverse ways. Further, a corpus-based analysis of some features in the Singaporean, Nigerian, Jamaican and East African varieties of English will be interpreted in this light.

Florian Haas  
(Free University of Berlin)  
Comparing constraints on passivisation in English and German: the case of ‘symmetric verbs’  
Thursday, 12:00 – 12:30, Room 1019

Constraints on passivization have mainly been formulated in terms of semantic properties of verbs and their arguments. Comparative data from English and German suggest that at least in some areas of the lexicon other factors are at work as well. Different uses of the English verb *meet* have been investigated with respect to their occurrence in the active and passive diatheses. It turns out that there are striking differences between these uses, for some (near-) categorical and for others in terms of frequency. A comparison to their German counterparts, each realized as a formally distinct lexeme and each conforming to the general frequency distribution of actives and passives in German, reveals that semantic and pragmatic motivations cannot sufficiently account for the English distribution. I propose that it is the distinguishability of meanings between formally identical verb forms which is responsible for the tighter association of use type and diathesis in English.

Stephanie Hackert  
(University of Regensburg)  
Linguistic nationalism and the emergence of the English native speaker  
Friday, 15:30 – 16:00, Room 1021

The proposed paper examines the rhetoric of national character as deployed in the concept of the English native speaker. At least since Chomsky (1965: 3) famously defined linguistic theory as “concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogenous speech-community,” the native speaker has been conceived of as “a common reference point for all branches of linguistics” (Coulmas 1981: 1). Over the past twenty-five years, however, dissatisfaction with the concept has grown, particularly in connection with the study of World Englishes, where it has become clear that reality is much more complex than the neat distinction into native and non-native speakers of English appears to suggest (cf., e.g., Schneider 2003: 238). A number of researchers (cf. Singh 1998) have also pointed out that, while there may be linguistic differences between native and non-native speakers of English, these differences are not what matters, as the native speaker is really a political construct carrying a particular ideological baggage. In my paper, I will show that many of the associations that burden the native speaker and make the concept’s application to the World Englishes context problematic have a long history. Employing a corpus of texts that extends from the mid-nineteenth century to just after World War I and includes not only the classics of the linguistic literature but also collections of lesser known periodical articles such as Harris (1995), I will retrace some of the discourses surrounding the emergence of the English native speaker. In order to do so, I will draw on methods of discourse analysis as developed particularly by the discourse-historical approach in Critical Discourse Analysis (Wodak 2001). The link between linguistic nativeness and the ideology of nationalism has been made before (e.g., Kramsch 1997: 359; Piller 2001: 114; Acevedo Butcher 2005: 16; Foley 2007: 16) but has not, to my knowledge, been explored explicitly. However, a look at Marsh (1859), the text in which the phrase *native speaker* first occurs, shows that it is clearly present from the concept’s inception. A surge of nationalist feeling pervades not only Marsh (1859) but much of the linguistic literature between the mid-nineteenth century and World War I. Underlying it was Anglo-Saxonism, a powerful historical ideology and political theory which, during the second
half of the nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth centuries, encompassed the British Empire and the U.S. in a logic of racial exceptionalism based on both descent and culture. In that framework, language played a crucial role, as the traits of the English-speaking people – an expansionist drive, a youthful and manly character, and an emphasis on political liberties – were seen to be traveling along lines of Anglo-Saxon blood (cf., e.g., Horsman 1981; Kramer 2002). Also important were developments in nationalism as they took place in Britain and the U.S. in the second half of the nineteenth century: whereas the former experienced a “moment of Englishness” (Kumar 2003: 175), which focused nationalist sentiment less on the civic and political institutions of Britain (cf. Colley 1994) than on the ethnic and cultural characteristics of England and the English, the U.S. saw a redefinition and focusing of what being American implied, a strong nativist movement being part of this (Parish 1995: 223).

What the analysis of the discourses surrounding the emergence of the native speaker shows is that the second half of the nineteenth century was a period in which linguists started to think differently about languages and their speakers. As a new term characterizing particular language users and setting them off from other groups, the native speaker provided an important way of conceptualizing and labeling a particular linguistic identity and drawing boundaries between some speakers and others. In sum, if we are to understand the ideology of the English native speaker today, we need to understand, as fully as possible, the historical origins of the assumptions and beliefs upon which it rests.

Studies of the (diachronic) syntax of English (Brinton 1988; Denison 1993) have mentioned a verbal construction of the form have one’s N V-ed, which Brinton (1988, 2000) calls the “passive of experience” (ex (1a-c)), and which resembles the passive voice to some extent: (i) only passivizable verbs can occur in it, (ii) a non-agentive NP expressing the patient/experiencer appears in subject position serving as the topic, and (iii) the agent of the action can be expressed by means of a by-phrase, but is usually left unspecified.

(1) a. He had his head cut off.  (vs. His head was cut off.)
   b. He had his hopes dashed.  (vs. His hopes were dashed.)
   c. He had his reputation tarnished by the news. (vs. His reputation was tarnished by the news.)

On the other hand, the construction is very unlike the passive in that the auxiliary involved is have, and in that a second NP, formally the direct object of the verb, intrudes between the auxiliary and the main verb – a highly unusual present-day English word order. Additionally, in all examples provided in the literature, the NP exhibits a possessive determiner that is co-indexed with the subject-NP referent and restricts the object NP’s reference to a (literal or metaphorical) part or possession of the subject-NP’s referent. This creates a very strong emphasis on the experiencer/patient, which thus does not only appear in topic position, but also fills the comment-slot, albeit with the focus much narrowed down. The examples given in the literature furthermore suggest that this emphasis goes along with a strong negative prosody.

In the literature (Denison 1993), the “passive of experience” is contrasted with various, formally related constructions (ex (2)-(4)), all of which exhibit the same auxiliary and word order, but lack the possessive determiner with the NP and thus the emphatic double-focus in the information structure. While the subject-NP in (2) is also non-agentive, this is not the case with (3) and (4), which differ from (1) in that they exhibit so-called “causative have” and in that their subject-NP is agentive, at least in an non-immediate sense.

(2) “have passive”: He had some books given to him.
(3) “conclusive have perfect”: She’ll have the police convinced of your innocence.
(4) “causative have”: She’ll have you arrested.

The case study presented here uses methods from quantitative corpus linguistics in order to investigate the 1,280 instances of have one’s N V-ed to be found in the BNC. In order to identify the central uses of the construction, its lexical realisations are evaluated by means of two “collostruction methods”, i.e. simple and covarying collexeme analysis (Stefanowitsch and Gries 2003; Gries and Stefanowitsch 2004). In a second step, these basic uses are related to the genres in which they predominantly occur. Finally, in a more exploratory, but complementary sort of quantitative analysis, a hierarchical configurational frequency analysis (hcfa) is employed to identify the most important combinations of some of the construction’s major semantic features (such thematic role of subject NP, or control over and desirability of the result achieved).

It is shown that (i) the lexical realizations of this verbal construction, both as regards the object NPs and as regards the participles involved, only utilize a small part of the semantic space that could in principle be sanctioned by the syntactic construction – thus arguing for a constructional meaning which is a lot more restricted than that of the passive voice, and (ii) that the seemingly contrasting constructions (1) and (4) do in fact not present two clearly distinct syntactic constructions, but rather the endpoints of a semantic cline along which the subject-NP is decreasingly agentive and in control.
The aim of this paper is to outline the basic principles of an approach to syntactic analysis that combines elements of lexis (valency) and grammar (sentence structure). This approach forms the basis of a new introduction to syntactic analysis for students of English. The paper will focus on decisions that had to be taken with respect to word classes and phrases and outline major points of difference between our approach and more traditional models. In particular the valency-based notion of particle and particle phrases (subsuming traditional prepositional phrases and subordinate clauses) will be discussed.

Raymond Hickey
(University of Essen)
Irish English and the ‘inner circle’ / ‘outer circle’ distinction
Thursday, 14:00 – 14.30, Room 1016

This contribution will consider the nature of English in Ireland (Hickey 2007) in the context of the so-called ‘Inner Circle’/‘Outer Circle’ distinction among different forms of the language (originally proposed by Kachru, see Kachru 1986). It will attempt to draw a clear structural picture of the types of features which are found in the English of older colonies and that of more recent colonies, both those of the northern hemisphere (earlier overseas colonies) and those of the southern hemisphere (later overseas colonies). In particular the role of language contact and language shift will be considered (Hickey (ed.) 2009, Mesthrie 1992). Here the input languages have played a role, but also general features of language contact/shift scenarios have been important. Furthermore, the paper will look at whether the general social and cultural position of postcolonial countries would seem to lead, or have led, to similar structural features arising in areas which are not geographically contiguous and which have not been in contact throughout their recent history (Schneider 2007). Different linguistic models, e.g. Schneider (2003), which have been put forward to explain the linguistic nature of inner and outer circle Englishes will also be considered as will the question of whether postcolonial Englishes have gone through a cyclic development.

Interrogative constructions are a field of syntax in which varieties of English show a range of common features not shared by Standard English, including the absence of inversion in main clause interrogatives (Where he went?) and the presence of inversion in embedded interrogatives (I don’t know where is he.) Such phenomena have primarily been studied from the perspectives of regional dialectology and language contact. Additionally, since the phenomena in question occur across the borders of region (Great Britain, Africa, Asia and the Caribbean) and variety type (L1 varieties, L2 varieties, pidgins and creoles), claims of their status as potential “universals” have given rise to new approaches from functional typology (“vernacular universals”, Chambers 2004; “angloversals”, Mair 2003; “vernacular angloversals”, Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi 2004).

Often, however, the two approaches have provided conflicting results: Filppula (2004), for instance, claims that influence from Irish is the source of Irish English embedded inversion; this does not, however, account for the occurrence of the same feature in Indian English, Singapore English or Jamaican English. The cross-variety perspective, on the other hand, has so far not provided explanations as to the specific sources of the phenomena in question, and has thus failed to predict their presence in one variety and their absence in another.

This paper combines linguistic typology and contact linguistics on the methodological level by comparing the factors that determine variation in interrogative inversion across a range of varieties (as covered by the International Corpus of English). It will argue for a common explanation of interrogative inversion in the varieties in question, including Irish English. It will also show, however, that what looks the same, need not always be the same.


Online communication is an immensely rich data source for the study of informal written language. By applying corpus-linguistic methodology to these data we can study the issue of nonstandard spelling variants, as well as their underlying motivations, in a principled way. This paper utilizes a corpus of Jamaican online interactions (in e-mails, blogs, and online forums) to produce a quantitative account of non-standard English spelling variants.

In linguistic studies of nonstandard orthography, questions of identity and subversiveness are usually highlighted. Recent work on ‘orthography as social action’ (Sebba 2007) broadens the view toward a more comprehensive picture of orthographic choices. In the case of an English-based creole language such as Jamaican Creole (JamC), additional factors contribute to the orthographic choices that writers make. Since this creole is usually written in stylistic contrast with Standard English (StE), its orthography can also serve to disambiguate codes, as in a division between standard spelling in StE passages, and nonstandard spellings of English-based words in Creole passages (cf. Deuber and Hinrichs 2007).

Thus, at least two factors constrain the choice of nonstandard spellings in written JamC: the desire to define the writer’s – or another interactional participant’s – social identity in a way that highlights opposition to the mainstream, and English-Creole disambiguation. In addition, the location of the writer shows a significant statistical impact on spelling choices: writers in the diaspora relate to written representations of language differently than those in the homeland. Alternations between variants of high-frequency-items such as <me> and <mi>, <never> and <neva>, and <you> and <yu(h)> are considered as a product of the interplay of all these factors.


New media technologies greatly facilitate the use of multimodal resources (text, pictures, film, audio) in computer-mediated communication (CMC), e.g. websites, weblogs, discussion boards, e-mails, etc. Yet, most linguistic approaches to the description of online communication still privilege verbal (oral or written) over visual (pictures, films) modes of analysis, attributing mainly decorative or illustrative functions to the latter semiotic resources. Taking Labov and Waletzky’s generic structure of narrative analysis (1967) as a springboard, this paper illustrates how weblog authors apply and allocate various multimodal means to a number of e-narratives in and across travel blog posts. It appears that weblog communication lends itself particularly well to this type of analysis as it represents an intermediary or “bridging” kind of electronic discourse which is located between webpage and chat-room. As such, weblogs specifically mirror both the expressive limits and contextual constraints of “written speech” in a malleable internet genre which oscillates between communicative privacy and publicness, self-reflection and self-revelation, identity construction and negotiation. I will attempt to capture weblogs’ medial, formal and functional hybridity by proposing three cumulative prototypical degrees of interactivity which, I claim, are basic to all types of online communication. Arguably, this basic subset of interactive dimensions will serve to unravel at least some of the crucial interrelations which currently hold between the socio-medial set up, the structural properties of spoken language (“written speech”) and semiotic resources applied by online users.

In recent years, linguists have increasingly drawn on Internet-derived data to complement existing standard corpora. However, the methodological implications of using this type of data have yet to be fully evaluated – and my paper is intended as a contribution to this discussion.

In particular, I will focus on the use of Internet-derived data for the study of spoken language. Given the difficulties (and costs) involved in compiling traditional spoken corpora, it is no wonder that scholars turn to chat-rooms, electronic transcripts and discussion boards as possible proxies for spoken data (cf. for example Hoffmann’s (2007) use of the CNN transcripts to investigate the intensifier *so* or Buchstaller et al.’s (forthcoming) study of the quotative *all* on the basis of Usenet data). However, the question needs to be asked to what extent this type of data in fact adequately mirrors features of spoken language.

For my paper, I will concentrate on the potential uses of a large corpus of Usenet postings (> 1 billion words). I will first briefly discuss the technical issues involved in compiling such a corpus and then focus in some detail on an evaluation of its speech-like qualities by comparing this set of data to existing spoken corpora such as the spoken component of the BNC or the Longman Spoken American Corpus. With the help of cluster analyses involving a whole range of different linguistic features, I will attempt to determine which areas of linguistic description (e.g. lexis, morphology, syntax) might be most adequately conducted on the basis of this type of “speech-like” data. Preliminary findings – perhaps not unexpectedly – suggest that Usenet discussions differ on the whole considerably from authentic speech and that extreme caution must therefore be exercised when this type of data is used as a proxy for spoken language.


Willem Hollmann and Anna Siewierska  
(University of Lancaster)  
Definite article reduction in Lancashire dialect: constructions in a sociolinguistic context  
Friday, 14:00 – 14:30, Room 1098

One of the most stereotypical features of northern British English dialects is definite article reduction (DAR), in which the can be reduced to [ə], [ʔ], or ∅:

(1) ...they built the [ðə] school, Townley School  
(2) Miss Riley she were er (...) er in the [ðə] infants you see  
(3) Well colliers were coming on the [ðə] bottom erm near the [ʔ] bottom of the ∅ smallholdings

DAR has been considered in terms of its history (Jones 2002), its phonology (e.g. Barry 1972, Petyt 1985, Jones 1999), and its pragmatic function (Rupp and Page-Verhoeff 2005). This paper takes a different approach, in studying DAR not only in terms of its phonological environment but also in relation to the nature and frequency of the grammatical construction in which it occurs, as well as information structure factors. In doing so, we combine a sociolinguistic investigation with the theoretical machinery of the usage-based model.

The usage-based model suggests that over time morphophonological reduction will be greater in frequent constructions than in infrequent ones (e.g. Bybee and Scheibman 1999, Berkenfield 2001). There is convincing evidence for this, but it too often comes from standard language varieties, ignoring non-standard features. Background information about the speakers is usually limited, see e.g. Bybee and Scheibman, who simply note that their 6 informants reside in Albuquerque, New Mexico (1999: 579). This bias towards the standard language and the lack of attention to socio-geographic background is problematic because in non-standard varieties expressions may acquire particular local significance and ‘resonance’ (in the sense of Beal 2000: 349), and so are susceptible to developing into identity markers. When this happens, the correlation between token frequency and reduction may get distorted.

We illustrate this distortion with data from Lancashire, in the north west of England. First, we corroborate existing literature which suggests that an explanation only in terms of phonological environment does not fully account for DAR. Information structure does not explain all the facts either. However, we show that a consideration of the grammatical construction in which DAR occurs is insightful. For example, DAR is especially frequent in prepositional phrases. This is interesting for syntactic theory, as it suggests that – in line with construction grammar (e.g. Langacker 1987, Goldberg 1995, Croft 2001) – constructions are stored/used as wholes, rather than assembled from constituent parts. Second, we show that frequency must not be considered in isolation from local significance. For example, the speaker from whom examples (1-3) above are taken systematically reduces the article preceding smallholdings, whereas with more frequent nouns such as school reduction is less common. The usage-based model would predict the opposite, but the observed pattern can be explained once we are aware of the local importance of smallholdings, coupled with the local resonance of DAR.

The non-standard data lead us to conclude that the usage-based model/construction grammar must be modified in order to account for those findings which typically reside in sociolinguistic work. Since most speakers of a given language do not speak the standard variety, and as most languages do not even have a clearly codified standard, this connection between sociolinguistics and construction grammar is crucial.


The divergences of West African English from the historical input variety British English (BrE) are seen as nothing more than errors by many local language teachers, who are concerned about falling standards; others treat such differences as signs of indigenization. Ghana presents no exception here: there is a strong “complaint tradition”, but recent years have also witnessed the first signs of an acceptance of a local standard. Thus, in Schneider’s (2003) five-stage developmental model of World Englishes, GhaE falls somewhere between Phase 3 ‘Nativization’, characterized by L1 transfers and the spread of local norms, and Phase 4 ‘Endonormative Stabilization’, which is “marked by the gradual adoption and acceptance of an indigenous linguistic norm, supported by a new, locally rooted linguistic self-confidence” (p. 249). Schneider also mentions internal variation as characteristic of the birth of New Englishes (p. 272). To shed more light on this phenomenon, the present paper will explore phonetic and phonological variability in the emergence of GhaE. Focussing on speakers representing different Ghanaian ethnicities, I will adopt a quantitative approach and analyze features such as the variable quality and distribution of the STRUT vowel, the replacement of the RP postalveolar fricatives [...] by [... .], substitution of <th> by [tè, dò] or [t, d], or the realization of <wh> as [hw] or [.]. The aim is to determine whether variation in GhaE indicates an emergent community norm in that local variants
1. are adopted even by those GhaE speakers whose L1 phonologies would in fact allow forms closer to the BrE input or which would require to treat it differently,
2. cannot be attributed to African language influence but represent separate developments.

The establishment of such community norms is important from a theoretical point of view, demonstrating that GhaE is developing towards an autonomous and stable system.

A more extensive and deviant use of the progressive is a feature that is mentioned within the context of both New Englishes and learner varieties of English. To date, however, use of the progressive in ESL and learner Englishes has been studied separately (cf. Rogers 2002 and Vogel 2007 for new Englishes or Virtanen 1997 and Westergren-Axelson and Hahn 2001 on learner Englishes). Moreover, research on the use of the progressive in the inner circle suggests that some varieties are even more advanced in the spreading use of the progressive aspect than others (cf. Hundt 1998). The paper will therefore bring together evidence from corpora of inner-, outer- and expanding circle varieties of English to test the hypothesis of ‘overuse’ and ‘deviation’ in ESL and Learner Englishes.


Approximately 20 million Indians do not live in India, either as people of Indian origin (PIOs) or non-resident Indians (NRIs). With a few exceptions (cf. the studies by Mesthrie 1991, 1992 and Shameem 1994, 1998), however, the sociolinguistics of the (rather diverse) Indian diaspora has not been studied in much detail. The paper will look into the double diaspora situation of Indians who are descendants from indentured labourers in the Fiji islands but who, due to the political situation in Fiji, decided to migrate to New Zealand. The data come from a series of interviews conducted with first and second generation Fiji Indians in Wellington, New Zealand. The focus will be on the discursive construction of identity in this double diaspora situation, including issues of labelling, language use and attitudes towards varieties of English and Hindi. In addition, the varieties of English used by Fiji Indians in New Zealand will be described impressionistically.


Since Goffman’s (1955) seminal work on face as “the positive social value a person claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact” (p. 2), there has been theoretical deconstructions and explications (cf. Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003; Brown and Levinson, 1978 [1987]; Nwoye, 1992; O’Driscoll, 1996; Ting-Toomey, 2005; Watts, 1992; 2003) on the various ‘faces’ people claim in natural human-to-human speech interactions. Studies on computer-mediated communication (e.g. Hiemstra, 1982; Morand and Ocker, 2003; Simmons, 1999), however, show that ‘face’ is also a crucial phenomenon in virtual conversation. The weblog, otherwise known as online diary, provides ample data for the examination and analysis of face claims by diaspora Nigerians as well as home-based Nigerians. With event-driven data culled from Nigerian weblogs or weblogs about Nigeria before and during the Nigerian 2007 General Elections, we investigate the socio-political influences, communal concerns, and democratic aspirations that shaped people’s use of language and the face claims that emerge. We assert that virtual face claims by Nigerians, in our corpus, are predicated on citizen activism. Attempts are made to situate ‘face’ within the modern Nigerian context as a multi-cultural construct rooted not merely on individualistic expectations but on the collective well-being of the polity. This study, therefore, introduces the weblog as a new genre of online conversation among Nigerians, and examines the pragmatics of language use in this new media.

Despite many obvious differences between film and language, certain similarities exist between visual and verbal discourse that make it possible in principle to consider analyzing patterns of filmic expression using concepts adapted from linguistic pragmatics. Modeled as a *mode of expression* (as opposed to a *text*), film becomes analyzable as a communicative activity involving an audiovisual enunciator (the filmmaker) narrating filmic events to an audience (the spectators) with certain communicative intentions in mind. The cinematic performance itself – the ‘telling’ of the story – relies on the strategic use of a wide range of conventional cinematic depictive tools and techniques. The contextualizing functions of these in film often seem analogous to those of certain types of framing, foregrounding, and perspectivizing strategies in language. This paper introduces an approach to film based on linguistic pragmatic principles. It is an attempt to extend discourse pragmatics beyond language into the complex audiovisual realm of film.

This paper presents a corpus-based study which compares subject-verb agreement in existential *there + be* constructions in spoken educated Jamaican English with four other national varieties of English in the International Corpus of English, in order to gain insights into the complex factors contributing to the development of Standard Jamaican English. In past decades, most research on the Jamaican language situation has concentrated on the basilectal end of the creole continuum characterising the Jamaican language situation, while only few studies have focused on the acrolect, the underlying assumption being that this variety was identical to standard British English, the language traditionally regarded as the norm in Jamaica due to its association with the British colonialists. However, first a number of teachers and applied linguists (cf. Christie 1989, amongst others) and later sociolinguists studying the acrolect have shown a tendency for Jamaican educated English to move away from the postulated British norm (see Sand, 1999: 13-14), with the latter consequently concluding that the emergence of a new standard, Jamaican Standard English, must be taking place (cf. Mair 2002). Various linguists have suggested that Jamaican English may be influenced both by British English and, due to its closer proximity, American English, but also by vernacular universals applying to all contact varieties of English. In order to test this hypothesis, agreement and non-agreement in existential constructions in educated Jamaican English will be analysed with regard to the linguistic factors tense, subject number, contractedness and polarity, and the results will be compared to those found in the native varieties British and American English, as well as in two non-native contact varieties, Indian English and Singapore English, both of which were historically British-oriented. Because of the parallel assembly of the respective one-million word sub-corpora of the International Corpus of English, these are an excellent basis for a direct comparison of four of the varieties.

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1 As there is presently no ICE-USA, the comparison will be based on the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English, which comprises about 249,000 words and will form part of a future American section of ICE.

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Though stylistics often claims to be able to produce new and rigorous insights into the linguistic features of literary works, there is little work that addresses the direct signifying potential of syntax. Though onomatopoeia and sound symbolism more generally are regularly taught on courses on poetic language, the equivalent direct encoding of meaning in the structure of the clause is not. The question of iconicity, then, has been largely the preserve of phonology, and though Jeffries (1993) introduces grammatical iconicity, this is the first detailed discussion of the potential of English for reflecting meaning through structure. Through a study of a number of examples of contemporary poetry, this paper will illustrate this potential for syntactic signification and address the charges of interpretative positivism which such analyses sometimes attract.


Chaucer’s Parson famously explains his preference for prose by arguing that he is a “Southren man, / I kan nat geeste ‘rum, ram, ruf,’ by lettre”. Although this is ostensibly a statement on poetry in general, scholars were quick to note the implicit slur on alliterative poetry and were equally quick to attribute this slur to Chaucer, the poet, himself. But the particular linguistic consequences of Chaucer’s act of literary criticism have not been fully investigated yet. Before the backdrop of our ever-increasing knowledge of England’s late fourteenth-century literary scene Chaucer’s remark begins to sound suspicious. Engaged in an attempt to gain dominance over the vernacular literary field, Chaucer effectively blurs the distinctions between poetry and dialectology, between literature and linguistics. By inventing the image of an unproblematic correspondence between linguistic dialect and literary form Chaucer has powerfully contributed to the establishment of categories which have provided the basis for our understanding of the relationship between language and literature in the Middle English period. This paper seeks to take a closer look at the context of Chaucer’s famous remark and thus to question some of the received truths of Middle English linguistic and literary history.
Fewer topics have attracted more attention in descriptive linguistics than modality. The attraction of modality rests with its complex set of semantic categories, the endless variability of the exponent of these categories, and the pragmatic functions associated with particular exponents. Studies of modality in the spoken English of different regional or national varieties of English (e.g. Miller 2004 in Scotland; Collins and Peters 2004 in Australia) show different combinations of semantic categories and exponents, while very recent studies of spoken and written English (e.g. Kortmann, et al. 2004, Algeo 2006, Mair 2006) have revealed further changes even within British English itself.

One of the surprising gaps in the study of Irish English of any variety is the lack of a systematic description of the modal auxiliary verb system. Using the now-completed Irish component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-Ireland) (cf. Kallen and Kirk 2007), this paper is designed to address the question of modality in Irish English by studying, in the first instance, the modal auxiliary realisations of the semantic fields of obligation, necessity and epistemic possibility, for which there are several recent studies for other varieties of English (e.g. Leech 2003, Smith 2003, Mair 2006). By using these studies as our starting point, we demonstrate the typological affinities between Irish English and other international Englishes as well as the distinctiveness of examples from the ICE-Ireland corpus such as I've to do one in January; what time have I to stop? and You must have also had to bear in mind.

It is generally assumed that English NNN compounds are stressed according to their morphosyntactic structure, i.e. left branching compounds are stressed on the leftmost constituent (e.g. [séat belt] [law]) whereas in right branching compounds it is typically the second constituent of the whole compound that carries the main stress (e.g. [team] [lòcker room]). This generalization is captured, for instance, in Liberman and Prince’s (1977) Lexical Category Prominence Rule (LCPR).

However, there are two major problems with the LCPR prediction. First, it has never been thoroughly tested in a larger empirical study. Second, the generalization about stress assignment seems to rely primarily on the researchers’ own intuition about stress rather than on more objective methods, as for instance measuring the acoustic correlates of stress.

This paper presents a first systematic study on stress assignment in English triconstituent compounds using experimental and speech corpus data. Measuring pitch as the most important correlate of compound stress (e.g. Farnetani and Cosi 1988, Plag 2006, Kunter and Plag 2007), about 500 NNN compounds taken from the Boston University Radio Speech Corpus, and about 500 NNN compounds obtained in a reading experiment, are investigated as to whether the predictions of the LCPR actually hold.

The analysis shows that, while most compounds follow the LCPR, a significant proportion of the data cannot be accounted for by reference to branching direction. This is due to the fact that the LCPR ignores the existence of right-stressed compounds in English (e.g. Giegerich 2004, Plag 2006). The possibility of rightward stress in compounds, however, does have serious consequences for stress assignment in triconstituent compounds. We will show these consequences and provide a more adequate account of NNN stress assignment.
The overarching aim of this talk is to elucidate the role that processing-related factors might play in that retention or omission. As is well known, zero-that clauses, as in (She thinks) Ø the concert was good are by far more frequent in spoken English than their counterparts with retained complementizer, as in (She thinks) that the concert was good. In written text types, however, retained that is more frequent (Biber 1999: 680-683).

As for the determinants of that – retention or omission, in written English that seems to be used more frequently in cognitively more complex sentences (Rohdenburg 1996: 160ff., 1999: 102f.). Thompson and Mulac focus on the grammaticization of the epistemic expression I think which frequently introduces that clauses and is almost exclusively followed by zero-that clauses (1991). Two recent studies have shown that the choice of complementizer is determined by the interplay of various factors (Tagliamonte and Smith 2005, Jaeger 2006: 51-95) in spoken English. One of these factors is the influence of preceding discourse on the choice of complementizer: thanks to syntactic persistence, for instance, speakers should be more likely to retain the complementizer if it has already occurred before their utterance.

There is a dearth of research systematically comparing the influence of processing-related factors in spoken vs. written text types. To remedy this gap, we will utilize appropriate statistical techniques to quantify the determinants of complementizer choice in a sample of that-clauses from the Freiburg Corpus of English Dialects (FRED) vis-à-vis parallel samples of that-clauses from ICE-GB. Owing to our research question and the data sources tapped (conservative dialect speech vs. spoken and written standard English), the talk marries corpus-based psycholinguistics to the study of language variation and change.

Continental Europe is framed by three speech communities in which a first or official language English is in close contact with one or more Romance languages or dialects: Malta, Gibraltar and the Channel Islands. Except for the level of phonology, research on the English spoken in these insular and peninsular contexts is scarce (despite Kellermann 2002; Mazzon 1992ff; Ramisch 1989ff). The present paper, in which Malta takes centre stage, forms part of a larger project whose major goals are the following:

(i) to offer more detailed descriptions for the lexicon and morphosyntax of all three (emerging) varieties of English;
(ii) to place them relative to the well-studied poles of British and American English;
(iii) to integrate individual findings into a more general framework of language variation and change.

In this paper I will report on questionnaire data elicited from educated speakers of Maltese English. The questionnaire draws on two main sources: first, our own observations and qualitative statements found in the literature; second, the 76 features used in A Handbook of Varieties of English (Kortmann and Schneider, eds., 2004). As will be seen, there is a substantial intersection between these two sets, which suggests that various of the features reported for the (pen)insular contexts reflect more general trends in non-standard (and indeed standard) Englishes – rather than characteristics of specific new Englishes. Convergence vs. divergence of world Englishes and ‘glocalization’ are therefore focal points of interest.

I shall discuss in more detail linguistic variables that deserve closer investigation because of (a) trends in other Englishes and (b) potentially influencing structures in the Romance and Arabic contact languages in Malta. Items to be investigated include, on the lexical level, choices where British and American English traditionally diverged and, on the grammatical level, subjunctives, progressives, tag questions, split infinitives, existential constructions as well as regularizing past tense and past participle forms (cf. Krug 1998, 2004; Nesselhauf 2007; Ramisch 1989; Rohdenburg and Schlüter in press).

Igor Lakić  
(University of Podgorica)  
Print media discourse: a case of war reporting  
Saturday, 11:00 – 11:30, Room 1021

This presentation deals with a discourse analysis of three British dailies (Guardian, Independent, Times) on NATO Airstrikes on Yugoslavia in 1999. I will first offer a theoretical background to the analysis, taking into consideration (1) Teun van Dijk’s theory on news schemata and the concepts of macro and micro structure, and (2) Norman Fairclough’s approach to critical discourse analysis. The analysis started from the presumption that a pure linguistic analysis, especially on the micro level, is not adequate in analysing any kind of discourse and cannot therefore be an end in itself. On the other hand, the approach of critical discourse analysis can be quite subjective without reliable linguistic data. I would argue that a combination of the two approaches can give satisfactory results in analysing discourse, bridging the gaps that the two approaches can have when taken separately. The second part of the presentation will contain examples from the analysed texts, to support the theoretical claims.

Claudia Lange  
(University of Dresden)  
‘Hindi never, English ever’ – language nationalism and linguistic conflicts in modern India  
Friday, 14:00 – 14:30, Room 1021

The Indian Constitution (1950) declared Hindi as the official language of the Union and granted English the status of secondary official language for a transitional period of fifteen years, so that from 1965 onwards, Hindi was to be India’s sole national language. In January 1965, shortly before the end of the deadline for English, students in Madras in Southern India rallied against this decision with the slogan “Hindi Never, English Ever” (Kumaramangalam 1965). In the following months, the state of Madras saw strikes and violent clashes; 66 people died during the unrest. Eventually, the constitutional provision to hold on to English as second official language was extended indefinitely.

This paper explores the ambivalent role of English in India after independence, and specifically its appropriation for quite separate nationalist agendas. Whereas Gandhi deemed it absolutely essential for the project of decolonization to get rid of English altogether, the urban elites from the Dravidian southern states successfully conceptualized the continued use of English as a defence against Hindi- and Hindu-dominance. More recently, English has again been pitted against Hindi, but with reversed roles: for Dalits and other so-called backward castes in Indian society, English and access to English equals liberation from a sanskritized Hindi, far removed from ordinary language use, which is perceived as the language of the still dominant Brahmins (Anand 1999, Vaish 2005).


The paper will discuss some aspects of **intercultural pragmatics** related to English as a global language and possible ways of their didactisation. More precisely, in the present-day world English as a global *lingua franca* is used by people of diverse cultural backgrounds, which contributes to its numerous variational segmentation. Focusing on debates over the possibility of its fragmentation into regional dialects, Crystal (1999) suggests that these might end up coexisting alongside some form of “World Standard Spoken English”. But the crucial issue here is that language cannot exist without culture deeply embedded in its structure, and, consequently, the issue with Global English, being no-one’s mother tongue, is that it does not have a single set of cultural norms and values to be based on.

Starting from the above premise, we shall argue that in order to become a successful **intercultural communicator** one has to be aware of these culture specific variations and their characteristic discoursal manifestations. By implementing some more recent versions of Wierzbicka’s theoretical framework, the theories of **natural semantic metalanguage** and **cultural scripts** in particular (1997, 2006, etc), we shall propose an analytical model that can be used for identifying and defining culture-specific **communicative styles**, taking examples from spoken and written data produced by Slavonic speaking learners of English.

We shall conclude by illustrating how the proposed analytical model could find its practical **didactic** and potentially auto-didactic application. By inviting the learners to reflect upon their own experiences, knowledge and understanding of both their own culture and the culture of the target language, the teacher can help them not only to develop relevant metacognitive strategies that will ensure more successful and more autonomous language learning and learning in general, but also to improve their **cultural fluency** that will enable them to function more efficiently in the intercultural context.

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**Geoffrey Leech and Nicholas Smith**  
(University of Lancaster / University of Salford)  
**Changing patterns of grammatical frequency over the 20th century: evidence from the comparable corpora of the Brown family 1901-1991**  
Wednesday, 14:30 – 15:00, Room 1098

The technique of comparing equivalently-sampled corpora of differing temporal or regional provenance has already shown with unprecedented precision how the use of grammar can change markedly over a comparatively short period. This has been demonstrated, for recent standard written English, through the comparison of four corpora of the Brown family: Brown and LOB (1961) and Frown and F-LOB (1991-2).

For British English it is now becoming possible to trace the history of grammatical usage further back using the provisional (pre-release) version of the matching Lanc-31 corpus (1928-34), and it is planned at the ISLE conference to present early results from the equivalent Lanc-01 corpus (1900-1904). This is an important advance ‘backwards’, so to speak, enabling quantitative analysis of matching corpora to reveal changes across two or three equivalent generation gaps (roughly 1901-1931-1961-1991), and hence to track changing speed and direction of change across earlier as well as later decades of the twentieth century.

Among results so far, we find that the modal auxiliaries, after remaining in a steady state pre-1961, underwent a significant decline of frequency after that date. The modal *must*, however, was already declining in the 1931-1961 period, with an accelerated decline after that date. The related ‘semi-modals’ *have to* and *need to*, on the other hand, increased markedly in frequency, with the greatest increases being shown by *have to* prior to 1961, and *need to* post-1961.
Whereas the passive suffered an increasing rate of frequency decline towards the end of the century, the progressive aspect, in contrast, showed a virtually steady rate of increase through the 1931-1991 period, as, more dramatically, did the s-genitive.

More detailed genre-sensitive comparative analysis of the matched corpora yields hypotheses regarding the differential effects of underlying causative processes such as grammaticalization, colloquialization, and democratization.


Jakob R.E. Leimgruber
(University of Oxford)

‘Singlish’, ‘Good English’, and what’s in between: a model for sociolinguistic variation in Singapore
Saturday, 10:30 – 11:00, Room 1019

As a recently nativised (Gupta 1994) variety of English, Singapore English has often been analysed as a continuum (Platt 1975; Pakir 1991; Poedjosoedarmo 1995), with Standard (Singapore) English at the top and the basilect ‘Singlish’ at the bottom of a range of lects that are used for stylistic purposes. A more recent approach (Gupta 1994; 2001) views this variation as one reflecting a diglossic situation: the Standard is H(igh), and the native ‘Singlish’ is L(ow). This paper presents findings from recent research into these two approaches.

The study investigates how the speech community uses Singapore English’s inherent variation. Specifically, data collected from fieldwork show that there is a preference for using more acrolectal or H variants in formal settings than in less formal ones, where basilectal or L variants are preferred. The distribution of percentage rates according to situational settings seems, at first sight, to favour the diglossic view proposed by Gupta. Observable differences across groups with different educational qualifications, however, suggest a slightly different analysis.

I propose herein a model that takes into account the two above-mentioned models. Rather than being mutually exclusive, the post-creole continuum (DeCamp 1971; Platt 1975) and the diglossic approach (Ferguson 1959; Gupta 1994) can be combined to give a better-informed understanding of the variation in Singapore English: while it seems clear that there is, within the speech community, an awareness of a bipolar system (H and L), this is not independent from the speaker’s position on a scale of educational achievement. The new model takes this into account and proposes an intermediate approach, where speakers have access to their own H and L, and use them in a diglossic framework.


There are a growing number of attempts to model English in its many-faceted manifestations of today that marks clear progress towards a better understanding of language developments. I will suggest a model that takes the reciprocal nature of contact seriously, sees developments as part of the transformation of entire languages habitats and avoids the isolationist view of English.

The old controversy between the Quirk school and Braj Kachru centred on whether English consisted of a core and (a diverse, if little understood range of) peripheries or whether it was best described in terms of three overlapping circles. The circle model turned out to be more persuasive and generated so many ‘Englishes’ that its central claims, e.g. that an English has (or should have) an internally-driven or endo-centric dynamism and that this only partly mirrored the acquisitional types, could not be taken seriously. In Leitner (1992) I argued that the two models were not entirely incompatible since the Quirk school focussed on language as a network of linguistic expressions, while Kachru on social norms (and attitudes). I argued that there were many fewer Englishes than Kachru and his large group of followers made us believe and that the tension between global and local developments were not even taken note of. Other models centred on the life-cycle of Englishes (Moag), on interconnections of standard Englishes (MacArthur), on a rough and ready linguistic typology (Trudgill) or on the relevance of two types of English, i.e. a southern and a northern type (Bailey, Leitner).

More recent proposals took a different starting point: they attempted to define common developmental stages. Trudgill’s determinist model (2004), for instance, argues that the input and the demographic strength of input dialects account deterministically for the subsequent development of a new (native) variety of English. He outlined several developmental stages that drew on earlier work of his. His model was confined to his very own interpretation of the historical data of New Zealand English so that his central claim, i.e. that social factors do not play a role at all, was not even discarded from the authoritative analysis of the ONZE project (xxx). A big step forward is Edgar Schneider’s 5-step model of development (2003), which begins with the foundation stage, turns to stabilization, exo- and endo-normativity and ends with differentiation. It has been expanded considerably in his (2007) monograph. The great advantage is that it does away with circles or acquisition types (that have always remained static). It introduces a dynamic element though his claim of a cycle is unfounded. There is no cyclical element in it, which would permit regression and different paths.

The idea of cyclicity is based on the idea that developments towards endo-normativity may be arrested or indeed retreat to take a fresh start later. That is well-known in creolistics but plays a role too in varieties such as Australian English. A cyclic model has been developed and applied in the two volumes Australia’s many voices (2004a/b). But the model developed there has further crucial features. It does not see the development of varieties as a uni-directional path from a presumptive inception (or foundation) stage to de facto completion, with internal differentiation. There can be a renewed outside push, a second cycle, that re-routes the development. The rise of a cultivated variety in Australian English is a case in point. Finally, developments are located inside a language(s) habitat, as contact always has been reciprocal or multi-faceted. The habitat idea is further developed in Leitner/Malcolm’s (2007) collection of papers on the Aboriginal Australian language habitats.

More than that, my study of the impact of Aboriginal concepts on Australian English (2007), shows that contact must be interpreted inside the wider cultural, political and linguistic context that stretches over the time of contact. The naming of Aborigines, for instance, has to be embedded in a century-old European discourse that spans from the earliest explorations of the southern hemisphere to the growth of scientific disciplines in the 19th c. and the growth of political forces such as Marxism and Leninism. In all studies of English it is confined to the interaction of English (speakers) with indigenous populations. The Romanist Christian Schmitt (19xx) has pointed to the neo-Latin tendencies in all European languages that are not shared in
the so-called post-colonial varieties of Romance languages in Africa and presumably elsewhere. Language developments are thus driven by pan-European ideas. It is time to overcome the pervasive Anglo-centrism in anglistics and to embed developments inside what has become known in French as géo-histoire de la mondialisation (Grataloup 2007).


Our paper examines English in a recent online genre, the weblog, focusing on the uses of English in multilingual discourse. To date there is relatively little research on multilingual web-based discourse, with the exception of some qualitative sociolinguistic and discourse analytic studies (e.g. Androutsopoulos 2006, 2007). However, to analyze and understand this vast and rhizomatic multilingual space, research also needs to make use of balanced and representative corpora, rendering both micro and macrolevel investigations necessary. In this paper we present the first results from a new project combining methodological insights provided by discourse analysis and corpus linguistics to the analysis of multilingual weblogs. Our data comes from a corpus of linguistically hybrid weblogs, written by Finns in 2004-2007, in which English alternates with Finnish in various ways. Such an approach can reveal general and quantifiable patterns of language choice in balanced samples of discourse and yield insights into the context-specific uses of these language choices and functions. The approach can provide a diagnostic tool and a test bed for identifying recurring linguistic features and patterns which can then be subjected to a detailed investigation in individual discourse samples (Baker 2006; Biber et al. 2007). The project is part of a large-scale research venture by the Research Unit for Variation, Contacts and Change in English at the Universities of Helsinki and Jyväskylä, aiming to account for the uses and functions of English as a global language with Finland as a case study.

English speakers typically encode directional motion events using a verb of movement-and-manner together with a spatial particle (‘satellite’) indicating direction, as in ex. 1:

(1) Mary walked up the path.

The prevalence of this pattern is behind Talmy’s ([1985] 2007, 2000) characterisation of English as ‘satellite-framed’. A number of studies have posited a cross-linguistic bias favouring goal over source in the expression of motion events: goal is said to be more frequently encoded (Stefanowitsch and Rohde 2004) or to be encoded by more specialized means (Bourdin 1997).

This paper investigates the extent of these preferences in the encoding of directional motion events in spoken English. Using Talmy’s components of a motion event (including motion, figure/trajector, ground and path) as a starting point, it aims to identify the distribution of these components across verbs and spatial particles and their complements, and to test for goal bias.

Evidence is drawn from both experimental data and corpus data. The former comes from twelve subjects describing fifty-odd short videoed motion events involving human figures moving about in typical ways in relation to a variety of grounds. This onomasiological approach, maintaining the event constant and generating expressions of it, provides evidence for degree of association between motion-event type and construction-type. The data comes from a wider, typological project investigating the cross-linguistic expression of motion events. The findings reveal a high degree of convergence in the use of particular V + particle combinations for particular scenes, strongly confirm a tendency to conflate motion and manner in V and reveal some goal bias. The corpus data, which comes from the demographically sampled portion of the British National Corpus, allows quantitative data to be gathered on specific verb-particle constructions to investigate their typical usage in conversation. Evidence for goal bias is considerably stronger in the conversation data.


Singapore English (SE) is an intriguing variety for investigation where lexifier-substrate typology is concerned, in no small part because of the rapid changes in ecology over mere decades, resulting in dominance of different languages and features in the feature pool during different eras (Lim 2007). In this paper I focus on the more recent period when Mandarin and Cantonese substrates dominate the ecology and the implications this has for the typological make-up of the evolving variety of English in Singapore.

Sinitic languages are dominant in SE’s ecology, with 78% of the population Chinese, and involving numerous languages such as Hokkien, Teochew, Cantonese, Hakka, etc; crucially, what is common is that they are all tone languages: tone is thus an element high in frequency in the feature pool. Given that tone is recognised as an areal feature, acquired easily by languages in contact, it is not surprising that tone is found in SE. Clearly noted in the set of SE discourse particles acquired from Cantonese wholesale in segmental form, meaning and tone (Lim 2007), tonal features are also observed in SE prosody where intonation moves in a series of level steps (Lim 2004).

What does this herald for the linguistics of English? I argue that in the consideration of ‘new’ Englishes – here, Asian (but also African) Englishes – the traditional view of English as a stress/intonation language needs revising. Recent work has demonstrated that English varieties (and other contact languages) evolving in an ecology where tone languages are present do indeed either combine aspects of tone languages or display tone (e.g. Gut 2005; Lim in prep). Such varieties should not be seen as aberrant in comparison to ‘standard’ English, but should be recognised as having their own prosodic system due to substrate typology, possibly even classified as tone languages (Lim in prep).

Lim, L. (in prep.) English can be tone language meh55? Singapore English wat21! Particles and prosody in a contact variety of English.
Every description presupposes some sort of theory, as pointed out by for instance Dryer (2006), so there is no such thing as an atheoretical description. Dryer further argues for a distinction between descriptive theories and explanatory theories, finding however that arguably even descriptive theories are explanatory in the sense that they explain specific facts about a language. In corpus linguistics, which has been accused of being atheoretical, of merely counting what can be counted, Sinclair (passim) and Tognini-Bonelli (2001) have developed the notion of corpus-driven research, which in its idealized form starts with data from un-annotated corpora and induces grammatical rules from the concordance lines without help from any preconceived theory. Even this method, however, must be based on a set of basic theoretical notions, what Dixon (1997) has called Basic Linguistic Theory. Many of the concepts coded in Basic Linguistic Theory also lie behind the description in comprehensive grammars like Quirk et al (1985) and even a theory-oriented descriptive grammar like Huddleston and Pullum (2002) – cf. Leech (2004).

Recent work on formulaic language in corpus linguistics (Stubbs passim) and psycholinguistics (Wray 2002) has demonstrated the formulaic nature of both spoken and written language. These findings challenge the primacy of rule-based generation of novel sentences and support usage-based theories of grammar, the importance of frequency and the notions of grammaticalization and emerging grammar.

In the present paper, a set of English formulaic sequences occurring in large corpora are described from the point of view of their syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties. In particular, the relation between frequency, lexicalization and grammaticalization is explored in line with Hawkins’ claim that “[g]rammars are ‘frozen’ or ‘fixed’ performance preferences” (2004:46) and Stubbs’ assertion that “[f]requency in text becomes probability in the system” (Stubbs 2007:127), with the aim of going from description to explanation.

While the study of the major declarative complementizers *that* and zero has attracted considerable attention in the literature on complementation, so-called minor declarative links have been largely ignored. Over the last few years we have paid due attention to these connectives in their diachronic dimension, and have examined the origin and development of a number of minor declarative complementizers, such as *but*, *lest*, *how*, *if* and *though* (cf. the references below). In the present paper we intend to bring together and systematize the empirical evidence we have collected in our research project so far in order to address the following research questions: (i) what do all these minor links have in common?; (ii) what makes them eligible to fulfil a complementizer function; (iii) can they be considered true variants of the default connective *that*?; (iv) what are the implications of this study for the distinction between adverbial subordination and complementation, and hence for the understanding of clause linkage?; (v) can the development of minor declarative complementizers be regarded as an instance of grammaticalization? and, if so, is this specific to English or does it represent a cross-linguistic tendency? The empirical data for our study have been retrieved from the major corpora covering the history of English, namely The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts and ARCHER-2.


Translating a verb-second language like Dutch into the (XP) – S – V structure of PDE shows immediate problems relating to information structure rather than syntax. Consider (1):

(1)  
   a. Hier heeft Andy Cole zijn eerste hattrick gescoord (Dutch)  
   b. Here, Andy Cole scored his first hattrick  
   c. This is where Andy Cole scored his first hattrick (Hannay and Keizer 1993)

Although (1b) is syntactically possible, translation handbooks warn strongly against it, as the presubject position in PDE is a marked, prominent one. To convey old information with the same lack of prominence as in the Dutch source, English requires a subject (e.g. Downing and Locke 1995), which is why the handbooks recommend (1c) which creates the deictic NP subject to replace the preposed deictic adverbial in Dutch.

If subjects become so important for the information flow, we would expect to see more strategies for creating subjects after late ME, and there are indeed new constructions in early Modern English that do just that. Passives become more frequent (Seoane 2005), including the theoretically problematical Exceptional Case-Marking construction with to-infinitives (as in ‘John was alleged to be a fool’), which from its earliest emergence appears almost exclusively in the passive, typically with discourse-old subjects (Noël 1998), which suggests that this new construction emerged as a response to information structural pressures.

Other evidence that the syntax no longer fitted the discourse needs of its users after the loss of V2 is the emergence of constructions known as stressed-focus clefts (‘It is people like this who will benefit most’), a type of construction that has long been recognized to function primarily as an information packaging device (Birner and Ward 2002). This function was earlier achieved by Contrastive Left Dislocation (CLD). As CLD is strongly associated with V2 (de Vries 2007), its loss in late Middle English shows once more the pervasive effects of the loss of V2.

What the rise of these new constructions shows is how syntax and information structure interacts, with bi-directional effects: syntactic change affects information structure, and pressure from information structure results in new constructions.


Michaela Mahlberg  
(University of Liverpool)  
A corpus stylistic approach to clusters as building blocks of fictional worlds  
Thursday, 12:00 – 12:30, Room 1098

Corpus stylistic studies combine quantitative and qualitative methods for the analysis of literary texts (e.g. Semino and Short 2004, Stubbs 2005, O’Halloran 2007, Mahlberg 2007). A corpus stylistic approach can help to identify in a more systematic way than previously possible components of textual worlds. The paper investigates clusters, i.e. repeated sequences of words (e.g. in the very act of, I should like to see), in a corpus of texts by Charles Dickens and in a corpus of texts by other 19th-century authors. All 5-word clusters in both corpora (i.e. 52 texts) have been classified into five groups of clusters: labels, speech clusters, time and place clusters, ‘As If’ clusters and body part clusters (cf. Mahlberg 2007). These groups point to aspects of textual worlds that are built through the labelling of characters and themes, characters’ speech, references to time and place, comparisons with as if, as well as body language and the description of characters with regard to their appearance. The paper looks at the distribution of the cluster groups across the texts in the two corpora, it discusses functional similarities between different types of clusters, and it deals with the question to what extent the cluster groups can be regarded as being characteristic of the language of Charles Dickens or to what extent they are general building blocks of fictional worlds.


Christian Mair  
(University of Freiburg)  
Right in the middle of the s-shaped curve: on the spread of specificational clefts in 20th century English  
Wednesday, 15:00 – 15:30, Room 1098

As recent research by Traugott (forthcoming) has shown, there has been complex variation between the use of bare and marked infinitival clauses in specificational clefts in English for several centuries. The following examples from the F-LOB corpus illustrate the variable and its variants:

(1a) Look here, if that’s really all the truth you’ve told me, I think the best thing you can do is to tell it to Wilson himself; or I will, if you like. (BLOB L)  
(1b) None of these things is going to help propagate Marxist-Leninist doctrines. Therefore, Durieux continued when he could hear himself thinking, I must somehow save myself. The best thing I can do is lie still and let him think that he has knocked me out. (LOB N)

The variation is not stable but reflects a diachronic change, from pattern (1a) to pattern (1b). On the basis of a range of standard linguistic reference corpora, mainly the “Brown family” and additional larger textual data bases I show that the change is currently undergoing its most dynamic phase, with reversals of preference notable in practically the entire range of relevant contexts of use.

Elizabeth Traugott (forthcoming) “‘All that he endeavoured to prove was …’: on the emergence of grammatical constructions in dialogal and dialogic contexts.” In Ruth Kempson and Robin Cooper, eds. Language change and evolution.

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The assumption that defocusing of the agent phrase is the main function of the passive, and that the by-phrase is always an optional element, has generally gone unchallenged (Shibatani 1985, *inter alia*). Crosslinguistic studies show that agented passives, with unnatural patient-to-agent ‘attention flow’, are highly marked and much less frequent than agentless passives (DeLancey 1981). Some scholars, however, have drawn attention to certain contexts where omission of the agent is impossible (Van Oosten 1986; Grimshaw and Vikner 1993).

Passive essentially involves a choice in perspective, a shift in trajector/landmark alignment: the primary landmark of the verb stem (V) becomes the trajector of the passive clausal head, and the trajector of V is either left implicit or specified by means of a by-phrase (Langacker 1990). Perspective is linked to the degree of *topicality* of both the passive subject and the by-phrase element. A by-phrase agent high in topicality and saliency tends to be unexpressed, in order to avoid further imbalance in prominence in unnatural patient-to-agent ‘attention flow’; in contrast, agents low in topicality are typically expressed (Marín-Arrese 1997). This paper examines cases in English where the expression of the agent is necessary (e.g., A14.6. *The storms were always followed [[by]] flocks of scavenging birds*). It will be argued that: (i) Choice of perspective and expression of the agent by-phrase will depend on the relative degree of topicality of passive subject and agent; (ii) The effect of schemas in structuring our experience will be brought to bear on the way we construe an event designated by the V in the passive construction, and thus in the specification of the by-phrase element in passives.

The paper presents results of a case study based on samples from two corpora, my own corpus of passives in English, and a random selection from the BNC corpus. Preliminary results point to the interaction between event construal dimensions (perspective, image schemas and force-dynamic schemas; Johnson 1987; Talmy 1988; Clausner and Croft 1999), semantic parameters (schematicity of the verb stem, perfective/imperfective aspect, negation), and discourse-pragmatic parameters (natural topicality, discourse topicality; Givon 1983; Croft 1991) motivating the obligatory expression of the by-phrase.

The “purely emotive” quality that Quirk et al. 1985 have attributed to interjections is not quite as inaccessible as the scholarly neglect of this word class suggests. Rather, interjections share many of the formal characteristics of spoken language. The present paper will analyse these features on the basis of the vast material that Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary (EDD)*, in its new beta version, provides. The dialect words or phrases of English from 1700 to 1900 will be used as a medium of the spoken language. The results will range from phonological and phonotactic observations to aspects of word formation (primary and secondary interjections), and to semantic as well as pragmatic features. A quantitative comparison of the results gained from Wright's *EDD* with findings from *OED2* will, finally, test the hypothesis that interjections in English are a predominantly spoken word class.

One of the major issues in language variation and historical linguistics is how to determine, in a sea of continuous drift of language change, when there is a disruption and which exceptional linguistic current, wave, or tsunami brought it about. We must, however, not be carried away by the power of our imagery. What we observe as more or less radical language change in the remote past, might be no more than an apparent acceleration or slow-down of development, false impressions of disruption or continuity induced by an accidental tradition of written language. Also, we have to reflect with care how a discontinuity can really come about and spread in a heterogeneous community of speakers. In addition, since our human cognitive and linguistic abilities appear to restrict the range of structural possibilities in a principled way, most if not all phenomena showing up in extreme linguistic situations have counterpart developments in normal, steady internal (what has been called “natural”) as well as in contact-induced change. So, many arguments raised as qualitative causal evidence for a discontinuity have been rejected by referring to similar or parallel internal or universal tendencies, not even considering the possibility of foreign influence as a significant force.

As newly-born languages have always been associated with evaluative notions such as primitiveness, it would not come as a surprise if such evaluative categories carried over into general attitudes towards contact and mixture. Speakers (including linguists) often have enormous reservations about cultural and linguistic contact. The notion that languages and countries go together is at the root of this type of prejudice. A violent history of fighting and suppressing linguistic diversity in the development of European (and extra-European) national states provides numerous examples of how much passion and emotion can be involved. In phases of very intense contact and mixture, traditional identifications with languages, cultures, and nations are under siege. Some of the pidgins and creoles which developed as a side effect (or in the aftermath) of colonialism, have become (one of the) national languages of the (typically multilingual) states that were often formed arbitrarily in connection with independence. These daughter languages of English (and other languages) can give us certain hints regarding typical structural properties and social situations; but whereas the biologically determined births of human beings are very similar, the “births” of our mental offspring, such as a new language, (or its change into a shape that we—at a certain point in time—consider to be a “new” language, unintelligible to speakers of a certain distant set of its predecessors) can proceed along quite diverse paths. In the case of English, a national identification with the “Englishness” of Middle English can easily be shown to have been in place in the fourteenth century, when the language already displays its major contact features, which were obviously not considered “foreign” or in contradiction with being English (and not French).

This contribution will focus on three issues: the linguistic reasoning at the start of the creolization debate, the main stages and argumentations through which the debate went, and the repercussions of different mindsets and attitudes towards mixture and borrowing in linguistic theorizing about the birth of the national language of England, which, whatever its lineage, preserved its Germanic name—contrary to its rival French, which is generally considered to be a Latin-derived Romance language, but has a Germanic name (in spite of a strong, though recent, association with a bunch of Gallic warriors).
English and Cantonese are the main two languages in contact in Hong Kong, together with other Sinitic languages and a variety of Austronesian languages spoken by domestic helpers. Cantonese and English are typologically dissimilar in terms of word order; tense, mood and aspect marking; noun phrase structure; relative clause formation; the formation of interrogatives; and argument structure. Yet there is no work which systematically explores how these morphosyntactic typological differences are revealed in Hong Kong English, except for Gisborne (2000), which limits itself to relative clauses and the expression of finiteness.

In this paper, we set out to explore how a typological perspective facilitates an analysis of some of the key features of Hong Kong English. For example, while Standard English has a two-way distinction between past and non-past; Cantonese has no expression of tense on the verb. HKE likewise shows a lack of tense. Gisborne (2000) reports the following examples.

(1)  
a. She like to go there.  
b. Have you try?

At first glance, it is not obvious whether these involve a reduction of syllable-final consonant clusters, or whether there is a lack of a tense contrast in HKE. We propose that HKE, like Cantonese (following Hu, Pan and Xu 2001), essentially lacks a finiteness contrast. Evidence comes from examples like (2).

(2)  
I suggest him to go.

While the normal valency for SUGGEST involves its taking a full tensed clause, in a language where there is no finiteness contrast there is no way for the speaker to distinguish between a full finite complement clause and the control structure of (2). In this paper we explore the finiteness distinction in HKE, and look at the consequences of taking a typological approach to a range of data such as (2).

Anna Mauranen  
(University of Helsinki)  
Linearity in English  
Thursday, 16:30 – 17:00, Room 1019

We are used to modelling language from a synoptic point of view, which has resulted in hierarchical grammars. Yet the reality of language is fundamentally linear: for the hearer, this linearity manifests itself as temporality, for the reader, as the spatial organisation of text. Modelling English from this perspective marks a new departure in its description. The Linear Unit Grammar by Sinclair and Mauranen (2006) takes linearity as its starting point and builds a theoretically grounded model on this basis: the building blocks of grammar are elements which follow each other in time. Such a grammar adopts the position of the competent language user who operates under the constraints of real-time language processing. This paper explains the principles of Linear Unit Grammar applying it to transcribed spoken English.
This paper aims to enhance our understanding of how characterisation works in dramatic texts, whether written for the stage or the film screen, and to further the development of a stylistics of drama. Regarding characterisation, we aim to contribute both to an understanding of how characters are constructed in texts by writers and to how they are conceived by readers. Thus, our general approach might be described as cognitive stylistic, although this paper will focus much more on language than cognition. Regarding the stylistics of drama, we hope to assist in the redress of the quantitative imbalance in work investigating the different literary genres: the quantity of work on drama pales into insignificance compared with work on poetry and prose. Even less work has looked at language and characterisation in plays.

Central to this paper is the notion of ‘activity type’ (Levinson [1979] 1992). In a nutshell, an activity type (such as a seminar, a family dinner event, or a birthday party) is a collection of particular speech acts (such as requests, questions and offers) that stand in particular pragmatic relationships to each other and have become a relatively conventionalised whole. Contrary to this, treatments of the language of plays, as exemplified, for example, in the studies in Culpeper et al. (1998), tend to be relatively atomistic in approach; that is to say, they adopt frameworks that treat a specific dimension of the dialogue, or even individual segments of dialogue. Moreover, activity types involve an approach to context that is particularly suited to the dialogue of plays, since this approach involves language determining context rather than the opposite, which is more often the case in traditional pragmatic approaches to context. As far as characterisation is concerned, individual speech acts have an important role, because they embody speakers’ intentions and are realized in ways that reflect the speaker’s position in social space. Furthermore, activity types have a cognitive dimension and thus play a role in the knowledge-based inferencing that is so important in ‘fleshing out’ our conceptions of characters.

The first part of this paper elaborates the notion of activity type, and concludes with a focus on one specific kind of activity type, the ‘interview’. In the following part, we apply this notion in the analysis of two extracts from dramatic texts (John Hodge’s 1994 screenplay for Danny Boyle’s film *Trainspotting* and an episode of the television sitcom *One Foot in the Grave*). Finally, we consider the implications of what we have discussed and demonstrated in the paper for drama and characterisation.
Research by Beal (2006) suggested that C18th English prescriptivism left ‘a legacy of linguistic insecurity’, which, in the present day, has led to the emergence of instances of what she terms ‘New Prescriptivism’ (cf., among others, the publications by Parrish (2002) and Truss (2003)). Following this, recent research (González-Díaz 2007) explored the similarities and differences between the ideological ‘trends’ of the 18th century and the ‘new’ prescriptivism and provided some pointers regarding the construction of the ‘new’ prescriptivist discourse. One of the main conclusions of the latter work was the need for a more fine-grained analysis of the linguistic choices in the ‘new’ prescriptivist discourse. This is where my research comes in.

Using a corpus of prescriptive texts sourced from the ‘letters to the editor’ in *The Times* and *The Guardian* (1985-2007)), in this paper I will employ Halliday’s (1994) transitivity model as a means of elucidating the ideologies construed in the prescriptive discourse. Although some transitivity analysis of this kind was carried out in González-Díaz (2007), the scale was very small (16 texts); therefore further research is required. Specifically, the following questions are addressed:

1. What do the transitivity choices suggest about the ideologies of ‘new prescriptivism’ and how do they compare with a) those noted by González-Díaz (2007) and b) the relevant theoretical insights on the topic (Thomas, 1991)?
2. In light of the fact that the ‘grammar panic’ (Cameron, 1995) is attributed to the late 1980s, are there any differences between the ideological concerns in the 1985-1995 and 1995-2007 data?
3. Are there any differences between the ideological concerns of the two newspapers? (González-Díaz (2007) perceives a more ‘alarmist’ tone in *The Times*, although does not investigate this objectively).

In addition to providing answers to the above questions, thus expanding on a relatively small-scale initial study, the paper brings to the fore some methodological questions (cf. Straaijer 2007) and suggests that transitivity analysis may constitute an effective contribution towards generating a more objective way of approaching prescriptive data.


* This is a joint research project with Victorina González-Díaz (University of Liverpool).
Throughout its history, English has developed into a heterogeneous cluster of different forms. Some of these have become standardised, others have been given the status of institutionalised varieties (e.g. Indian English), and yet further forms are discussed from within the pidgins and creoles paradigm. Besides these, new forms of language have recently emerged in many postcolonial contexts. In, for example, South Africa and Kenya, but also in India and elsewhere, mixed codes have developed (cf. Schneider 2007). Although they obviously perform the role of identity markers, these codes seem to be difficult to integrate into regular descriptions of English, and they are mostly referred to as slang or youth language. Particularly in Kenya, however, their use has extended into the adult speech community as well as into the print media (cf. Meierkord forthcoming).

My presentation will concentrate on mixed codes which exist in African countries: Sheng and English as spoken in Kenya, and the Afrikaans-English mixed code used in parts of Cape Town. I will start from describing the similarities between these codes as regards their form and utilise the results of these comparisons to discuss:

- what English looks like at its fuzzy boundaries with other languages
- how these forms can contribute to our understanding of the nature of language in general (i.e. when is a code a variety or even a language)
- and how these forms can contribute to newly emerging paradigm such as cognitive sociolinguistics, ethnosyntax, and postcolonial pragmatics.


This paper reconsiders and develops an earlier study of mine entitled “Du’s no heard da last o’dis” — on the use of BE as a perfective auxiliary in Shetland dialect (Melchers 1992), and thus confirms the truth of the claim expressed in that title. There are several reasons for returning to this topic, such as the publication of the monumental Mouton Handbook of Varieties of English (2004), recent data collection in Shetland and Orkney by myself and others, and challenging new theories on the evolution of English grammar (cf. e.g. McWhorter 2002).

In the traditional dialects of the Northern Isles (Orkney and Shetland), be rather than have is used as a perfective auxiliary, not restricted to verbs of motion but categorically, as in I war paid him afore that (Orkney) and I’m been dere twartree times (Shetland). Unlike most other characteristics of Shetland and Orkney dialects, this feature is probably not to be unequivocally explained by the Norse substratum. It would appear, however, to be a result of the complicated language contact situation in the Northern Isles, bringing with it a great deal of ambiguity and confusion of expressions referring to transitivity vs. intransitivity and active vs. passive.
As once claimed by Joseph Wright and recently demonstrated in the Mouton Handbook global synopsis of features, the be perfective is not unique to Shetland and Orkney, although less categorical in other varieties. It is, for example, well known that various forms of be are used in AAVE as tense auxiliaries in addition to invariant been and done.

In line with the overall theme of this workshop, this paper presents and discusses the use of be perfectives in inner circle varieties, with special reference to the Northern Isles, as well as outer circle varieties, notably Bahamian English.


**Rajend Mesthrie**
(University of Cape Town)

**The sociophonetics of English in post-apartheid South Africa**

Plenary I, Wednesday, 9:00 – 10:00, Room 1010

The present paper draws on ongoing research project focussing on changing English norms in a deracialising society, based in 5 cities, with Cape Town as the main base. It focuses on the true beneficiaries of social change thus far: young middle-class students who constituted the first generation to enjoy education within a non-racial schooling system. This is a growing class of people in the forefront of racial and social transformation and likely to be the models for success in the near future (if not already). In previous papers I tried to ascertain whether young Black speakers are simply adopting key variants from the White middle class, introducing subtle changes of their own, or are resisting change. I reported (at a preliminary level, focussing on Word List style only of a small set of speakers) on the fronting of GOOSE, glide weakening of PRICE and lowering of KIT in velar and glottal environments. I focussed mainly on the fronting of GOOSE, arguing that it is becoming prominent amongst Black, middle class, female speakers and bringing them in line with White norms: in effect deracialising the variable and turning it into marker of class (middle) and age (youth).

In this current keynote address I provide an update by examining the GOOSE vowel in a larger data set and in more casual styles. I focus on 48 young, middle-class South Africans, drawn from the four main ethnic groups of the country: Black, White, Coloured and Indian. I report on their realisations of the variable in informal interview style and Word List style. The study suggests that while all young speakers are involved in a degree of fronting compared to the previous generation, there are differential realisations according to the ethnic hierarchy ‘Indian < Coloured < Black < White’ and the gender hierarchy ‘Male < Female’. (The symbol “<” denotes a lesser degree of fronting both qualitatively and quantitatively.) The symbolism of the vowel will be discussed: as there are interesting social and stylistic reasons why these differences exist.
The present contribution aims to operationalize the normative construct in language and to demonstrate its highly asymmetrical character, depending on whether it is approached from a linguistic or teaching perspective.

New empirical methodologies for linguistic analysis (including corpus-based, corpus-driven and variationist approaches) combined with English as a Lingua Franca trends have transformed a formerly rather unquestioned ‘norm’ into a loaded term with strong emotional overtones and connotations.

A closer look at the variables and features of the normative construct will prompt a reflection on the pros and cons of norms, both in linguistic analysis and in native and non-native language teaching.

The attempt at formalization will take into account theoretical (Aarts 2007), cognitive (Zaidel et al. 2005), descriptive (Paquot 2007), sociolinguistic (Nickel 1998), pedagogical (Bardovi-Harlig et al. 2000, Meunier in press), ethical (Godley et al. 2007) and language planning issues (Yiakoumetti 2007).

The presentation will focus on the interaction of research and pedagogy, will suggest a more restricted use of the word ‘norm’ and plead for a more extensive use of some other related terms.


In their important article on the discourse basis for lexical categories, Hopper and Thompson (2004:248) discuss the integration of ‘the notional side of categories with their pragmatic function in language use’. While they accept the broad correlation that for example ‘certain prototypical percepts of thing-like entities will be coded in a grammatical form identifiable as N’ (ibid.:249), they set out ‘to show that semantic congruence is actually rooted in predictable pragmatic (discourse) functions.’ Moreover, in their view, even though semantic features assigning ‘concrete, stable things’ (such as visibility) to Ns and ‘kinetic, effective actions’ (such as movement) to Vs are relevant, these features ‘do not seem to be adequate for assigning a given form to its lexical class’ (ibid.:251). This is because ‘[p]rototypicality in linguistic categories depends not only on independently verifiable semantic properties, but also – and perhaps more crucially – on linguistic function in discourse.’

My paper draws on a manuscript-based corpus of early correspondence which has been subjected to elaborated annotation of nominal structures, with the theoretical framework described in Hopper and Thompson (2004) in mind (see Meurman-Solin 2007a, b). This database provides particularly relevant data for a study of this kind for two reasons: first, documents transcribed by retaining the original punctuation and providing information about features of visual prosody (Meurman-Solin 2007a) permit a more reliable reading of discourse properties and features related to information structure than editions which normalise or modernise punctuation and sentence structure; secondly, letters represent explicitly interactive online language use.

Nominalisation will be discussed from four different perspectives: (i) the theoretical and methodological implications of a discourse-based assessment of nouniness, with the system of annotation created for this assessment in focus, (ii) degree of nominality in epistolary prose, (iii) nominalisation in information structure in epistolary discourse (highlighting its relatedness to politeness), and (iv) degree of syntactic complexity in epistolary prose.

The outcome of the analysis will be related to Lehmann’s (1988) parameters relevant in depicting the continuum from maximal elaboration to maximal compression in clause linkage, nominalisation – resulting from desententialisation, Lehmann’s term – being closer to the compressed end of the cline.


Due to the relatively early removal of English varieties from Suriname – within the first 30 years of its foundation – the Creoles of Suriname came to be quite distinct from varieties of English. Most of the work on these languages has consequently focused on identifying African influences. In recent years, the research focus has shifted to identifying the nature of the interaction between the different contributing sources, namely African and European languages and contact universals. There is evidence that the varieties of English contributed various kinds of structural aspects in addition to the large stock of lexical material. However, to date this has not been systematically investigated. Specifically, we know very little about the precise sources of possible features. However, sociohistorical evidence suggests that the Englishes of so-called inner colonies might havefunctioned as important sources of English features in the Creoles of Suriname.

The aim of this paper is to present the semantic and morphosyntactic features in the Creoles of Suriname that are most likely to be due to influence from varieties of English and to analyse in more detail those features that are susceptible to influence from the former inner colonies such as the intensifier use of reflexives, the use of nominal phrases in place of pronouns etc. The paper will draw on historical and contemporary language data and on socio-historical data on the contacts between Suriname and the former inner colonies.

This paper focuses on methodological issues within corpus linguistics. The use of corpora in linguistic research has opened up new possibilities for the study of language. The paper will focus on two important areas: on quantitative data and on qualitative information.

Linguistic approaches before the availability of corpora could scarcely rely on quantitative data. One advantage of working with corpora is that quantitative data are inherently available and can be computed and made explicit. It is possible to generate frequency lists of words, of phrases, of syntactic patterns etc. Absolute and relative frequencies can be used as indicators in detecting salient linguistic aspects. The use of statistical tests such as the qui-square test or cluster analysis helps to find, to verify and to explain linguistic distributions.

Linguistic studies before the availability of corpora did heavily rely on the qualitative analysis of linguistic items. This claim is also true for studies using data from corpora. Then and now, the (corpus) data can be analysed in terms of various linguistic aspects, for example according to its syntax, lexis, semantics, pragmatics, collocations or co-occurrence patterns. One advantage of working with corpora is that the cases which are analysed represent real language and that there is no need any more to rely exclusively on intuition and on invented examples. A qualitative analysis may corroborate already existing results or it may even lead to new insights in the description of linguistic items, especially if the adopted approach is corpus-driven.

The paper wants to present an outline how qualitative data and quantitative information complement each other and thus attempts to sketch a methodological approach within corpus linguistics.
Towards idiolect linguistics: an individual speaker’s collocations

Thursday, 15:00-15:30, Room 1021

The aim of English linguistics is to describe the English language, either in its entirety or in its regional, social, or stylistic varieties. This is reflected in the synchronic English language corpora compiled: these aim to represent the English language as such (e.g. the BNC), English as it is spoken in specific regions or nations (e.g. ICE), or English as it is spoken in specific groups or situations (e.g. MICASE). While all these approaches offer valuable insights, this paper suggests that we have so far, in researching different communities of speakers, disregarded the individual differences that speakers in all sorts of language communities exhibit. Especially in the light of usage-based approaches to language which emphasise that an individual’s mental lexicon and mental grammar are the result of their own experiences with the language, linguistics stands to benefit from a closer investigation of individual language, i.e. from idiolect linguistics.

While idiolect research is not new in the areas of sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics and forensic linguistics, we do not yet have larger-scale corpora of individual speakers which would allow us to examine grammatical or even lexicogrammatical structures. This paper thus presents a corpus of transcribed speech by one speaker (a public figure, British, male, born 1953, speech collected from the years 1989-2007), comprising three million words. Problems in compiling large individual corpora will briefly be sketched, yet the main part of the paper will detail a comparison of the idiolect corpus with the BNC concerning adverb+verb and adverb+adjective collocations. The paper outlines different methods in comparing the corpora as to the collocation strengths of word pairs, and suggests that and why collocations such as absolutely frank, broadly acceptable, passionately BELIEVE, and simply SAY are typical of the individual speaker researched, but not of the average British speaker.

Reported discourse in Middle English sermons and chronicles

Friday, 15:30 – 16:00, Room 1019

The expectation of faithfulness in quotation has been questioned, qualified and revived in present-day English studies of reported discourse (most thoroughly by Short, Semino and Wynne 2002). This study pursues the expectation of faithfulness in reported discourse in pre-modern and early modern texts; it constitutes part of my larger study of speech reporting in early English (1350-1600). This qualitative portion of the research tracks quotation practices and faithfulness expectations in two genres of Middle English texts: sermons and chronicles. Examining particular genres in their historical and cultural context permits us to consider genre-specific pressures for and against faithfulness in speech reporting. Sermons and historical chronicles show us that medieval writers and readers had reasons to report as accurately as possible, but also had cultural and rhetorical reasons for deviating from verbatimness. These competing pragmatic pressures resolve in quotative practices that are both like and unlike our present-day usage. This, in turn, helps to contextualize reported discourse in early texts and to understand the generic precedents for present-day speech reporting.

Sociolinguistics was introduced into English historical linguistics in the early 1980s. Romaine (1982) found that sociolinguistic methods could be successfully extended to correlate linguistic variation with external factors in historical data. In her study, stylistic stratification emerged as a major factor in language maintenance and shift. In the 1990s historical sociolinguists’ research agenda diversified to comprise a wide range of issues, including social and regional embedding of linguistic variation and change (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003).

Diachronic research can shed light on some issues that synchronic sociolinguistics cannot tackle empirically. These include the social evaluation of long-term linguistic changes in their various stages, ranging, in terms introduced by Labov (1994: 67), from incipient to completed. My paper discusses new findings that highlight the relevance of these stages to the social and stylistic evaluation of a set of morphological and syntactic changes in progress in English between c. 1450 and 1700, and individual language users’ varying participation in these processes. My material comes from the Corpus of Early English Correspondence (CEEC), and the computational methods used include Bayesian and bootstrap techniques, discussed, e.g., in Hinneburg et al. (2006).


Nina Nørgaard  
(University of South Denmark, Odense)  
Towards a grammar of typography and its implications for stylistics  
Thursday, 15:30 – 16:00, Room 1098

For many years, stylistics has been a well-established field of research for scholars and students interested in the ways in which meaning in literature is created through language. Drawing on linguists’ knowledge about language and communication as well as employing their methodology for analysis and interpretation, stylisticians explore what is communicated linguistically by literary texts, and how. While the foci of the various linguistic traditions are mirrored by a great variety of stylistic approaches to literature like, for instance, Chomskyan stylistics, Hallidayan stylistics, cognitive stylistics and corpus stylistics, a common denominator for most stylistics output so far seems to be the tendency to focus – monomodally – on the word-meaning of written verbal language. My presentation seeks to redress this imbalance and explicitly acknowledge the multimodal nature of printed verbal language in literature. It does so by exploring the extent to which the visual side of printed verbal language is meaning-making in its own right and how it interacts with other semiotic modes in a complex process of semiosis. For this purpose, the article employs and examines the approach to multimodal discourse proposed, for instance, by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001), Baldry and Thibault (2006), and, more specifically, the multimodal approach to typography suggested by Van Leeuwen (2005; 2006) in order to sketch out a “grammar of typography” applicable to the description and analysis of the semiotic potential of typography in literary texts.

Neal R. Norrick  
(University of Saarbrücken)  
Listener activities and responses in English conversation  
Wednesday, 15:00 – 15:30, Room 1023

Listeners do not inertly and silently receive talk by speakers. They actively demonstrate listenership and encourage other participants to continue to hold the floor with audible and visible signals. They engage in various “activities in the back-channel”—by contrast with the primary channel occupied with talk by the primary speaker (Yngve 1970). In this paper, I describe verbal listener activities in American English conversation based on data from several transcribed corpora.

Listener activities differ in fundamental ways. First, they signal: (1) recipiency, (2) changes in information states or (3) emotional involvement in foregoing talk (cf. Gardner 1998); second, they mark varying degrees of speaker inciency, from the pure continuer uh-huh, to the pre-shifter yeah and on to the topic switcher okay (Jefferson 1993). I will show that listener activities further differ in how likely they are to elicit a response from the primary speaker in the next turn. The frequency of responses elicited increases from (1) unobtrusive continuers like uh-huh and m-hm, through (2) assessments like wow and gosh, on to (3) information state tokens like oh and hm, and peaks at (4) insistent discourse markers like well and so.

We shall see that listener activities function not only to enable a multi-unit turn by another; they can also prompt explanations and extensions of stories. Even when listener activities primarily signal recipiency, they convey varying degrees of emotional involvement and insistence on direct response to their contribution.

This paper gives an outline of the theoretical and methodological choices behind a research project charting out the development of English modal auxiliaries in their social context between the years 1400–1800.

The main methodology of the study is corpus linguistics, while the theoretical frameworks employed are (historical) sociolinguistics and (historical) socio-pragmatics. As Krug (2000: 256) points out, we have very little frequentative information on the history of modal auxiliaries (although see e.g. Gotti et al (2002)). The existing earlier research has focussed on multi-genre corpora, but new information can easily be gleaned through single genre corpora such as the Corpus of Early English Correspondence, which was expressly developed for the application of sociolinguistic methods to historical stages of the language (see e.g. Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003).

In the case of modal auxiliaries, tracing the social history of the lexical items is not sufficient: the semantics of the auxiliaries needs to be taken into account. Earlier research has shown that modals are socially embedded both on the lexical and the semantic level (see e.g. Nurmi 2003). This presents a further methodological problem of applying a semantic analysis on the tens of thousands of instances retrieved from the corpus in a period where most modals are going through a semantic shift. Planned strategies for coping with the massive body of evidence include different sampling techniques, as well as applying corpus-based descriptions of Present-day English (e.g. Coates 1983) to historical data.

While quantitative methods produce the big picture of development, qualitative methods are needed to fill in the nuances of any development. The analysis of individual communicative exchanges is planned for the crucial points in the history of modals. As modal auxiliaries become more established, they gain increasingly fine-grained usage in structuring social space.

In Present-Day English the mental state verb *to guess* when coupled with the subject pronoun *I* functions, alongside *I think, I suppose, I believe*, etc., as what de Haan (2006) terms a modal tag but what is more commonly known as an epistemic parenthetical (cf. Thompson and Mulac 1991, Nuyts 1994, Aijmer 1997, Wischer 2000). If the semantic role of a parenthetical raises no doubts – it serves to epistemically qualify the proposition as much as a modal verb does, it is the syntax and pragmatics that call for a separate treatment in the case of the parentheticals. An epistemic parenthetical like *I guess*, whose status in a clause is closer to that of an adverb, has a counterpart in which *guess* is a matrix verb introducing a complement clause, both types being illustrated in (1) and (2) respectively:

(1) He’s at home, sipping beer, I guess.
(2) I guess that he’s at home, sipping beer.

Importantly, the parenthetical use is diachronically secondary in that it emerges after the matrix verb use is established. The processes that are implicated in driving *I guess* and similar constructions toward the status of parentheticals are grammaticalization, as shown by Thompson and Mulac (1991), grammaticalization in tandem with pragmatization, as maintained by Aijmer (1997), and also lexicalization as in the case of *methinks* (cf. Wischer 2000).

In this study I aim to look into the pace at which the parenthetical *I guess* was derived from the matrix verb construction and the pragmatic factors that determined the derivation. This being a corpus-based undertaking I make use of a variety of electronic corpora such as the Helsinki corpus, the Complete Works of William Shakespeare and available corpora of Present-Day English.

Joanna Nykiel  
(University of Silesia / Stanford)  
If Middle English prepositions could go missing…  
Wednesday, 15:00 – 15:30, Room 1016

Whether an anaphor left behind by sluicing (They knew someone was approaching, but they didn’t know who) has a full syntactic structure is not immediately obvious. Just as there is reason to believe that it may have none (cf. Ginzburg and Sag 2000, Culicover and Jackendoff 2005), so there is reason to insist on an underlying structure (cf. Hankamer and Sag 1976, Williams 1977, Sag and Hankamer 1984, Merchant 2001, 2004, 2007). The latter position has garnered support from robust syntactic effects most recently observed by Merchant (2004). He explicitly connects omission of prepositions in sluicing to an ability to strand prepositions.

(1) a. Peter was talking with someone, but I don’t know (with) who.  
   b. Who was he talking with?

Thus non-preposition-stranding languages have no option of omitting a preposition. Under a movement and deletion strategy this generalization is correctly captured. While it is not the only argument in favor of syntactic representation, nor would falsifying it deal a fatal blow to such representation, I argue that the history of English offers insight into how preposition stranding and sluicing interact. It has long been recognized that Old English prepositions do not uniformly strand. Central to this paper is the fact that wh-interrogatives require pied-piping, while personal pronouns and some relatives show preposition-stranding (cf. Grimshaw 1975, Allen 1980, Van Kenemade 1987, Bergh and Seppaenen 2000). Middle English paints another picture: preposition-stranding slowly extends to wh-interrogatives. My data from both periods show no difference in the distribution of sluices, with prepositions invariably preceding wh-interrogatives. Importantly, at a time when significant changes target sentences, and when corresponding changes might be expected in sluices if Merchant is right, no such changes are attested. This fact casts doubt on the strength of Merchant’s argument.

Carita Paradis  
(University of Lund)  
Metonymization as the key mechanism in semantic change  
Saturday, 12:00 – 12:30, Room 1015

The ‘use potential’ of a lexical item is a conceptual structure that has been built up and is being built up by its different uses. In all usage events only a portion of the total use potential of a lexical item is evoked. It is on the occurrence of use in human communication that the more specific focus of attention and the profiling of the meaning of a lexical item in context is being fixed. This means that meanings of words in context are pragmatically motivated and formed by construals operating on their use potential. Two construals, which are frequently referred to as metonymy in the literature, are distinguished as metonymization and zone activation. These construals are both based on PART–WHOLE configurations and select the most salient aspects of meaning of a conceptual structure on the occurrence of use. However, they differ with respect to conventionalization of the profiled meaning. Metonymization holds between senses and activation of zones within senses.

This paper argues that metonymization is instrumental in the development of new meanings and in language change. It involves the use of a lexical item to evoke the sense of something that is not conventionally linked to that particular lexical item. Metonymy is effected ‘on-line’ and is an implied contingent relation that precedes change. In novel uses of form–meaning pairings, couplings between lexical items and their meanings have not yet been conventionalized. Conventionalization and change require successful hearer recognition and subsequent acceptance.
of the speech community. Change involves entrenchment of metonymical readings and has taken place when conventional form–meaning pairings have been established for certain uses and focus of attention is again selected through zone activation. In the process of meaning change, there is a continuum from metonymy to zone activation, i.e. from non–conventionalized couplings between form–meaning pairs (polysemy) to conventionalized form–meaning pairings and zone activation within senses. The argument is empirically substantiated with corpus data as well as from experiments.

Peter Patrick
(University of Essex)
Number variation in Jamaican Patwa
Friday, 15:00 – 15:30, Room 1016

This paper analyzes variation in the marking of number on plural nouns in mesolectal Jamaican Patwa (JP) – one of only three variable features for which comparable quantitative data exist from Creole and African American English speech communities (Rickford 2006). Earlier theoretical claims for grammatical and functional principles to constrain variation in JP, and English-related Creoles generally, are tested and found wanting (Bickerton 1975, Dijkhoff 1983, Mufwene 1986). Many previous empirical studies lacked a valid, sufficiently nuanced taxonomy of surface forms which can reliably map onto the level of reference, and permit reorganization at a more abstract level capable of allowing generalizations. Quantitative analysis considers the choice between plural -z and zero in regular nouns in light of the major claimed linguistic constraints – syntactic, semantic, pragmatic and phonological. Results are compared with other contemporary English-lexicon Creoles, African American Vernacular English (AAVE), and African American Diaspora varieties. Two corpora are first analysed separately, then combined to form the largest database yet studied for number-marking in any single Creole, African American Diaspora, or African American Vernacular English-speaking community. Results contradict the ‘Creole pattern’ put forth in the literature, and used as a basis for historical conclusions concerning AAVE and Creole genesis (e.g. Poplack, Tagliamonte, and Eze 2000), show that number marking is clearly not a functional response by speakers to ease listeners’ comprehension task, and shed light on the role of redundant marking in Atlantic Creole continua.

Williams (1990) observes that Wales can be considered the first colony of an expanding British state. Welsh English (WelE) belongs to the Inner Circle of Englishes as opposed to the non-native Englishes of the Outer or Expanding Circles, but it is nevertheless a high-contact, or more specifically, a shift variety (see Trudgill, forthcoming). Schneider (2007: 85) lists nonstandard features of English which are particularly widespread in Asia and Africa, mentioning, e.g. inverted word order in indirect questions, invariant non-concord tags, and the use of progressive forms (PFs) with stative verbs. These features are also found in WelE.

This paper will focus on the nonstandard uses of the PF: expanded use with stative verbs (e.g. they were looking like gates) and the PF as a marker of habitual aspect (e.g. every year we are having two vacations). As shown by Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi (2004), stative use of the PF is characteristic of L2 varieties of English and also found in many L1 varieties. As a (temporally unrestricted) habitual marker, the PF is much less common: besides Celtic varieties of English, it is only recorded in IndE, PakE, and IndSAfE (cf. Gachelin 1997; Kortmann et al. 2004 and articles therein). Thus, the variety which the WelE usages will be compared against is Indian English. The above features will be studied qualitatively and quantitatively in WelE corpora and in ICE-India, and the usages will be discussed in light of factors contributing to the internal and external ecologies in which they have developed, such as EngE usage, substratum influence, cross-linguistic tendencies, and the language-contact histories of the investigated varieties.


Examples (1a,b) in which a genitive case marker is layered outside an internal case, accusative in (1a) or genitive in (1b), show that the English phrasal genitive should be treated as an instance of Suffixaufnahme, or double case (Plank 1995):

(1) a. the girl who likes me’s mother
   b. a friend of mine’s sister

Furthermore, example (2a), in which there is speaker variation in the realization of the genitive in association with plural nouns (Picard 1990), shows that the phrasal genitive is distinct from the head genitive in (2b), where no such variation is possible:

(2) a. the man who shot the ducks’ rifle /dʌks/ or /dʌkz/ i z/
   b. the ducks’ plumage only /dʌks/

In this paper, we consider the English head and phrasal genitives within the typology of Suffixaufnahme, and propose a commensurate theoretical apparatus. Concretely, we argue against a phrasal affix solution such as that of Anderson (2005), and in favour of a feature-passing solution, similar to that of Miller (1992). We distinguish however between two types of feature realization: (i) *internal* realization, in which a feature licensed by a mother is instantiated on all permissible daughters (typically, though not necessarily, including heads); and (ii) *external* realization, in which a feature licensed by a mother is instantiated either on a leftmost or rightmost daughter, and simultaneously on a head. In the case of external realization, the feature is layered outside any features which are licensed by any lower mother, so that me’s in (1a) is for example syntactically represented as [ACC.SG[GEN]], mine’s in (1b) as [GEN.SG[GEN]], ducks’ in (2a) as [PLAIN.PL[GEN]], and ducks’ in (2b) simply as [GEN.PL].

The passing of external features to heads handles Zwicky’s (1987) puzzle, the unacceptability of examples such as *the kings of England’s victories*, and analogous phenomena in Old Georgian (Boeder 1995).
As is well-known, the present-day present tense of be consists of (at least) two stems: the is-stem provides the indicative, the be-stem the subjunctive, imperative and non-finite forms. By contrast, in Old English (OE), both stems can take all finite forms, thus constituting formally two separate verbs. Even so, Mitchell (1985) denies the existence of a clear semantic difference between them. Indeed, to a great extent, they are already in complementary distribution in OE, be being used as a future (1), is as a present tense marker (2).

(1) Ymb feawa niht bið hal.
   “After a few days [he] will be healthy.”

(2) ‘La leof he is dead.’
   “Look lord! He is dead.”

However, beon is also found in sentences without future meaning, for instance in general truths:

(3) Hi beoð to þam swifte þæt ða  men wenað þæt hi fleogende syn.
   “They [= ants] are so fast that those men believe that they are flying.”

Starting from this observation, I argue that be and is were two semantically distinct verbs in OE and (early) Middle English (ME), and that this distinction helps explain the nature of their subsequent integration. Through a collocational analysis of extensive corpus material (from YCOE, PPCME2, HC, YPC; see references) clear aspectual distinctions are revealed – contra Mitchell (1985) –, for instance through different adverbial collocates of time (þonne ‘then’/sona ‘immediately’ with be; no adverb/nu ‘now’ with is). Moreover, I argue that be’s futurate use can be related to its original meaning ‘grow (up) (naturally)’ (compare Dahl 2000), which persists to some extent in OE. Finally, I argue that the association of be with the subjunctive and is with the indicative is a consequence of their aspectual distinction, which during ME developed into a modal distinction between irrealis and realis.


Corpora used


Non-standard subject-verb agreement, following the pattern of the so-called “Northern Subject Rule” (they are singing, but: the birds is singing), has been widely attested for Irish dialects of English. However, there have been different views both as to the extent of its occurrence and its origin in different regional forms of Irish English, especially those in the south. Whereas Montgomery (1997) favors a view according to which it diffused to the south from northern and ultimately Scottish sources, McCafferty (2004) places more weight on direct parallel inheritance from several settler dialect sources, including north-west England. In addition, Corrigan (1997) has suggested that an element of structural reinforcement through language contact with Irish plays a role in its establishment.

The present contribution aims towards a new empirical approach to the questions raised by these different hypotheses. The historical genesis of a non-standard grammatical phenomenon like this can best be addressed if, in addition to its internal conditioning factors and its geographical distribution, a systematic investigation is also made of its co-occurrence with other grammatical variables. A newly compiled 500,000-word corpus of historical Irish English texts from the 18th and 19th centuries offers the possibility to study paths of transmission and innovation of grammatical features in their context, with a degree of systematicity not easily reached with the empirical material available previously. This corpus provides new insights into the historical affinities that the NSR and its various sub-patterns show to the different linguistic sources that make up the Irish scene of language contact and dialect contact.

Over the past few decades, full inversion — constructions in which the subject follows the entire verb phrase in a declarative clause, as in “On the near corner was Herb’s Gas Station” or “Upstairs was a bedroom and a bathroom”— has been the subject of extensive research (cf. Bresnan and Kanerva 1992; Bresnan 1994; Birner 1996; Dorgeloh 1997; Chen 2003; Kreyer 2006), the focus of each individual study varying according to the nature and goals of the specific theoretical framework adopted.

On the basis of the kind of phrasal category occurring as clause-initial constituent, five different types of full inversion have been traditionally distinguished in the literature on the topic: noun phrase, adverb phrase, verb phrase, adjective phrase, and prepositional phrase full inversion. Broadly speaking analyses of full inversion carried within the generative (cf. Bresnan and Kanerva 1992; Bresnan 1994) and functional paradigms (cf. Birner 1996; Dorgeloh 1997; Chen 2003; Kreyer 2004) have focused mainly on inversions following a locative constituent, which subsumes “spatial locations, path, and directions, and their extension to some temporal and abstract locative domains” (Bresnan 1994: 75). In this sense, they neglect the analysis of those full inversion types, namely noun phrase, adjective phrase, and verb phrase full inversion, which do not contain such clause-initial constituents. In order to bridge this gap, the present paper offers a corpus-based analysis of verb phrase inversion in Present-day English written texts taken from the FLOB and the FROWN corpora (cf. Hofland et al. 1999). It is usually claimed that the fronted constituent in inverted constructions is discourse old information and thus serves to integrate the new information represented by the postverbal constituent into the already existing discourse (cf. Birner 1996: 147). Beyond this, however, the analysis of the data retrieved from FLOB and FROWN will show that verb phrase inversion can also be considered a marker of spatial experiential iconicity through which the process of physical perception is reflected in the syntax. In sum, the paper contends that verb phrase full inversion is not merely an information packaging device (old-new) in English but can also be exploited for spatial iconic purposes.

In 1919 an undergraduate named E. B. White took a writing course with Professor William Strunk at Cornell University. One required text was a little book called “The Elements of Style”, published privately by Professor Strunk in Ithaca NY some time before the First World War. In 1957 White was asked to revise and expand the book for republication. The new version sold millions. Today every college-educated American seems to revere it. An expensively but pointlessly illustrated fifth edition, published couple of years ago, also sold well.

Yet it is almost unknown in Europe. This is perhaps just as well: though the book’s vapid style advice (largely from White) is mostly harmless, its grammar ukases (especially those elaborated by White) are a toxic mix of atavism, purism, sexism, and prejudice. Some reads like parody. Its advice does not match up with what is actually found in good writing, including Strunk’s and White’s. Its huge influence has fuelled some of the worst perversions of American grammar teaching: teachers who ban all optional words, writing tutors who forbid passive clauses, and so on. Educated Americans, though they regard British English as the high-prestige variety, tend to tremble before prescriptive rules that the best British writers either ignore or never even heard of.

Strunk and White’s book reinforces this tendency in identifiable ways. It has helped to trivialize the teaching of English grammar in American schools and colleges, reducing it to a short list of prohibitory edicts concerning superficially and inaccurately defined grammatical sins.

This paper relates Strunk and White’s book to some of its earlier ancestors, substantiates the charges against it, and surveys some of the damage it has done to American grammar education, writing style, and mental health.
Adger (2006) argues that morphosyntactic variability within the speech of an individual can be captured in an approach where competing variants have uninterpretable features that may be checked in the same syntactic context. The results of a written survey of 90 native speakers of English suggest that the distribution of pronoun case forms in coordinates (1)-(3) and other strong pronoun contexts (4)-(5) exhibits exactly the kind of non-deterministic variability Adger’s approach was designed to capture.

(1) [He/him and I/me] arrived here three hours ago.
(2) Brenda had promised she would meet [he/him and I/me] at the station.
(3) The landscapes painted by [he/him and I/me] drew huge crowds at the exhibition.
(4) [We/us New Zealanders] must stick together.
(5) It was [he/him] who insisted on going to the rally.

In this paper, I outline a feature-based analysis that accounts for the most commonly attested pronoun case patterns and provides supporting evidence for Sigurðsson’s (in press) claim that ‘uninterpretable’ features actually serve to interpret abstract syntactic and semantic relations at the PF(=Phonetic Form)-interface. I follow Cardinaletti (1994) in assuming that that all strong pronouns have the interpretable lexical category feature [N], which sets them apart from weak pronouns, and I propose that case variation arises from competition between sets of lexical items characterized by the uninterpretable counterparts of the following features:

(a) The feature [higher[-N]:±], which serves to distinguish the highest structural arguments of [-N] predicates (i.e. V and P) from their lower arguments (cf. Wunderlich 1997).
(b) The edge feature [EDGE:±], which distinguishes the initial element of a complex constituent from more deeply embedded non-initial elements (cf. Chomsky 2000, Brittain 2003).

English grammars have a hard time finding a place for interjections in the linguistic system: They stand outside the syntactic structure of sentences (e.g. Carter and McCarthy 2006:113,493, Huddleston and Pullum 2002:22,1361, Quirk et al. 1985:67,853) and their phonology can be irregular and nonsystematic, e.g. in tut-tut, a series of clicks (Quirk et al. 1985:853, cf. also Biber et al. 1999:1082). My paper will argue that if interjections are examined as linguistic signs in spoken English, that is as sound objects, in their primordial habitat talk-in-interaction, they can be found to be used in formally and functionally systematic, context-sensitive ways. Based on a larger study from an interactional-linguistic perspective, my paper shows that the sound object ooh can occur in response to affect-laden informing (Heritage 1984) containing unqualified assessments or so-called “overdetailed” statements in conversation. By signalling heightened affective involvement, ooh acknowledges and orients to the prior informing and manages sequence organisation (i.e. structural moves) and interactional relevancies (i.e. affiliation).


The phenomenon of collocation, by which is meant the significant and habitual co-occurrence of each word with particular other words in text, is fundamental to corpus-linguistic study. In this paper, we introduce and explore the hypothesis that there exists a corresponding phenomenon to that known lexical attraction which we term ‘repulsion’. We focus on lexical repulsion, within a large corpus of UK quality journalism. Our research is in its second year, so we shall be able to draw on a series of investigations which have been taking place, with regard to many textual variables which might affect the nature of repulsion, including span, directionality, sentence position, style and genre, as well as to lexical issues of inflectional variation, grammatical word class, semantics and reference. We also deal with the crucial role of appropriate quantitative measurement in the identification of the phenomenon. By 2008, we shall have more to say both about contiguity and discontinuity in lexical repulsion, and its relationship with textual domain.
Relativizer omission in vernacular and Creole varieties of English in the US and the Caribbean, and its theoretical implications

Plenary V, Friday, 18:15 – 19:15, Room 1010

One of the newest variables to be considered in the long-standing debate about the English vs. Creole origins of African American Vernacular English [AAVE] is the omission of the relative pronoun or relativizer (that or WH-forms like what, who, or which) in restrictive relative clauses, as in: (1) “That’s the man Ø (who/that/what) I saw.” On the basis of a quantitative analysis of relativizer omission in “Early African American English” [EAAE], a collective designation for Samaná English, African Nova Scotian English, and Ex-Slave Narrative data from the US, Tottie and Harvie (2000) conclude (p. 225) that EAAE is derived from English stock, since relativizer omission in these varieties appears to show the same constraint patterning found in white US and British dialects. Moreover, although they have no quantitative data on relativization in creoles, the authors claim that the possibility that the EAAE relativizer system parallels or derives from creoles is slim.

In this paper, I will attempt to fill the missing gap in this argumentation by presenting a quantitative analysis of relativizer omission in Appalachian English, African American Vernacular English, Jamaican, Guyanese and Bajan, taking into account the central constraints considered by Tottie and Harvey, and others who have worked on this variable (e.g. Guy and Bayley 1995, Lehmann 2001). These include the grammatical category, adjacency and humanness of the antecedent NP, and the category membership of the subject of the relative clause. The analysis is not yet complete, but so far the Anglophone creole and vernacular varieties display some of the same constraint effects on relativizer omission that EAAE and other English varieties do—for instance existential constructions and definite antecedent NPs (especially of the superlative type—di oglies maan), favor relativizer omission in all these varieties. What this suggests is not just that creole ancestry might have played a role in the development of EAAE and AAVE, but that the constraints on this variable might be so general or universal that it might be useless as a diagnostic of creole vs. English ancestry. Indeed, in several respects, the Caribbean creole and vernacular data appear to bear out the more general language processing hypothesis adumbrated by Wasow et al (forthcoming): wherever the occurrence of a relative clause is most predictable, relativizer omission is most predictable. This may be bad news for attempts to close off the long-standing debate about AAVE’s creole origins, but it opens new vistas for studying and understanding variability in the vernacular and creole English varieties of the Caribbean and the USA.


Wasow, Thomas, T. Florian Jaeger and David M. Orr (Forthcoming) Lexical variation in relativizer frequency.


The purpose of my paper is to discuss some aspects of the development of English adverbial connectives, with reference to some more general questions related to grammaticalisation.

In Old English, the most typical way of forming new subordinators was by combining a preposition with the oblique form of the demonstrative pronoun se, seo, þæt, often followed by the subordination marker þe, as in for þam (þe) ‘because’. The only item formed with a noun was þa hwile þe (cf. Traugott 1982; Kortmann 1997; Rissanen 2007). In Middle English, a large number of new prepositions and adverbial subordinators emerged, mainly based on borrowed (Latin and/or French) nouns, verbs or adjectives. In many cases corresponding grammaticalised connective uses can be found in the source language. The role played by these uses in the grammaticalisation of the Middle English forms is of considerable interest.

Another interesting question is whether some of the grammaticalised connectives were particularly favoured in certain genres of writing, e.g., statutes and documents, and if so, whether this affected their establishment in the developing Standard.

The development of save ‘except’ is discussed in more detail. The origin of this preposition/subordinator is uncertain; it may either go back to the French adjective sauf, also used as a connective, or to the verb saven; the form saving also occurs as a connective in late Middle English.

In the later development of save, up to Present-Day English, the most interesting question is the decreasing popularity of this connective, in comparison to except. Attention is called to layering: the non-connective uses of save have remained more frequent than the connective uses throughout the history of English.


The paper generalizes over changes which have affected English vowels as opposed to English consonants during the last 1000 years. While English has witnessed a steady reduction of its inventory of consonants and consonant clusters (cf. Lutz 1991), consonantal strengthenings have been rare. In contrast, vowels have been strengthened quite frequently. Also, vocalizations of consonants have been more frequent than the opposite. The paper discusses if such generalizations represent merely descriptive post-hoc observations or if they emerge from specific causalities underlying the development of English as a historical system. It is highlighted that such general trends are difficult to account for on the basis of approaches that see linguistic variation as being driven by external factors such as cognitively or physiologically based preferences on the one hand, or by social practices such as co-opting linguistic variants for establishing group identity on the other (cf. Labov 1994 and 2001). Following naturalists like Dressler (e.g. 1985, 1988, 1989) or Wurzel (e.g. 1987, 1989), it is argued that the systematic and seemingly goal-directed re-distribution of phonological variables in the history of English is easier to explain in terms of ‘system adequacy’. Enriching the naturalist approach with insights from evolutionary biology (see e.g. Lass 1997, or Ritt 2004), ‘type adequacy’ and ‘system adequacy’ are shown to reflect that some combinations of linguistic variables transmit more easily together than others, so that language are under a pressure to co-adapt to one another. It is shown how co-adaptation accounts for the fates of consonants and vowels in the history of English and that it makes good sense, after all, to conceive of whole languages as systems with (macro-)histories in their own right, even though such a view appears hopelessly essentialist in light of the linguistic variability observable in actual speech communities.

In his *Comparative Typology of English and German*, Hawkins shows that several major grammatical categories of English have become more extensive and abstract than corresponding German ones. The most striking differences concern the subject category, which has been explored in some depth. To date, there are no equally detailed investigations comparing the range of possible object constructions in the two languages. Even so, and in common with many linguists, Hawkins assumes that English and German object constructions display perfectly similar contrasts.

On closer analysis, however, we find that – depending on the kind of object construction involved – English has diverged from German in two diametrically opposed ways. In the area of simple object constructions featuring just one nominal complement (referred to as the direct object), English has indeed undergone a similar expansion to that of the subject category. This gives us differences such as the following:

(1) a. She clicked her tongue.
   b. Sie schnalzte mit der Zunge.

(2) a. He threatened the Central Committee.
   b. Er drohte (mit) dem Zentralkomitee.

(3) a. The doctor advised an operation.
   b. Der Arzt riet zu einer Operation.

By contrast, several types of constructions realizing a variety of (post-verbal) argument complexes have been either phased out or drastically restricted. Some resulting contrasts include those illustrated in (4) – (7).

(4) a. Sie antwortete (ihrer Mutter), daß sie nächsten Sonntag zurück kommen würde.
   b. She answered (*her mother) that she would come back next Sunday.

(5) a. Sie schossen ihm (eine Kugel) in den Rücken.
   b. They shot him (*a bullet) in the back.

(6) a. Er befahl (uns) die Zerstörung der Brücke.
   b. He commanded (*us) the destruction of the bridge.

(7) a. John dankte Bill (dafür), daß er kommen wollte/würde.
   b. *John thanked Bill that he was coming. (Kilby 1984: 168)

An attempt will be made to give a comprehensive survey of the two areas in question. In addition, explanations will be sought motivating the fact that simple and complex object constructions in English have evolved in opposite directions.


It is well known that Irish English, like some traditional British English dialects, uses specific forms to denote habitual action in the present. In the north of the country the marker in question tends to be inflected *be*, whereas *do + be* is used in southern dialects (compare Filppula 1999 and Fiess 2003). While habitual marking by *do* has extended from the British Isles to various parts of the English-speaking world, habitual *be* is rarer (cf. Kortmann 2004). In addition to Ireland, it is used in Newfoundland (cf. Clark 2004) as well as in varieties of African American Vernacular English, South Eastern American Vernaculars, Gullah, Chicago English and Bahamian English (cf. e.g. Kortmann et al. (ed.) 2004).

Recently, Hickey (2006) has asserted that the mechanisms at work in the genesis of this phenomenon in Irish English are still ill-understood, and he also points to the lack of the phenomenon in Scottish varieties of English.

This paper proposes to re-examine evidence from the dialects of the ‘Inner Colonies’ in question from a language contact point of view. The guiding research question is whether differences in the Gaelic and British contact languages may play a role in the further development of their contact varieties.

In line with studies in contact linguistics (e.g. Heine and Kuteva 2005) it will be argued that there is less pressure to introduce or retain this feature in Scottish English than there is in Irish English. It is well known that in language contact situations, aspect systems of the receiving language often get restructured. As Scots Gaelic aspect has a less clearly defined habitual present system than Irish, and in this respect resembles Welsh, there may have been less pressure to introduce habitual present aspect into Scottish English.

This observation provides a further illustration of the influence of the Celtic languages in the genesis of the habitual aspect system in Celtic contact varieties of English.

Since the middle of the twentieth century it has been widely believed that English words are less integrated into word families than German words. Leisi (1955) attributed this so-called dissociation to the large proportion of Romance lexical items that have entered the originally Germanic English language in the course of its history. Even though these hypotheses are commonly taught in English linguistics at German universities, they have not yet been tested empirically.

My contribution will present a study that subjected the 2,500 most frequent lemmas from the British National Corpus and the German DWDS Core Corpus to various analyses. For instance, the lexical items were decomposed into both formally and semantically related constituents on the basis of the assumed synchronic etymological competence of a normal language user (cf. Augst 1998). In addition, morpho-semantically related complex words containing the English and German list items were sought for in electronic dictionaries and corpora of varying sizes. Moreover, features such as etymological origin, frequency and part of speech of the vocabulary items were encoded and combined with the data for dissociation.

The model adopted in this study distinguishes semantic obstacles, incomplete analysability, potential motivation by zero-derivation and differences in spelling and pronunciation between complex words and constituents, among other things. The very flexible coding system allows for a highly differentiated answer to the question whether the English vocabulary is dissociated or not – with surprising results.

The inversion of subject and verb in subordinate interrogative clauses as in (1) *I asked what was it for* (ICE-EA, crossx-k) is a frequently reported feature of non-standard syntax. In the *Handbook of varieties of English*, it occurs in the description of thirteen varieties from four continental regions, e.g., in Irish English (Filppula 2004: 93-95), colloquial American English (Murray/Simon 2004: 224), East African English (Schmied 2004: 936) and Indian English (Bhatt 2004: 1020).

Various sources of this inversion in the embedded clause (hence, embedded inversion) have been proposed – among them verb-second word order in Old English (Visser 1966: 780, McCloskey 2006). Embedded inversion is also seen as a disability of constructing “grammatically correct” indirect questions (McDavid/Card 1972: 105; Miller/Weinert 1998: 83), though note that very often features of indirect speech like backshift of tense in the embedded clause, as *was* in the example above, and pronoun shift occur together with inverted verb and subject.

Embedded inversion is often also traced back to substratal influence from Gaelic languages in which the word order in direct and indirect questions is identical, as it is more frequent in Celtic varieties of British Englishes (e.g., Filppula 2000). Kolbe (2001) discusses how the accounts of embedded inversion as both a general vernacular and as a Celtic English feature can help to explain the distribution of this syntactic feature. However, Sand (2005) found evidence of embedded inversion in a number of New Englishes without any influence from the respective substrate languages.

Based on corpus data, we will explore the origin of embedded inversion and its world-wide spread, from the British Isles to the Americas, Africa and Asia, to arrive at a more complete picture of its distribution and functions.

Although some Englishes in Asia have received extensive attention, the phonetics of Thai English remain relatively unexamined. We explore here two aspects of this emerging English, rhythm and the vowel system, and compare each to both the substrate language and to the characteristics of Englishes in the area. Data was collected from a homogenous group (age, years of English education) of ten Thai speakers who read English words, sentences and a paragraph, and participated in an interview.

While the dichotomy between stress-timed vs. syllable-timed rhythm (Pike 1945; Abercrombie 1967) has been reanalyzed as a continuum (Dauer 1983; Roach 1982, 1998), L2 English varieties are often claimed to approximate the syllable-timed extreme, either due to transfer or to syllable-timing being unmarked. Although documented for some cases (e.g. Low et al. 2000 and Deterding 2001: Singapore English), much work seems impressionistic. The ‘Pairwise Variability Index” (nPVI, Grabe and Low 2002) and the proportion of time in an utterance devoted to vowels (%V, Ramus et al. 1999) are being calculated for Thai English. The results will be compared to (1) British English (very stress-timed) and Singapore English (very syllable-timed); (2) previous measures for Thai. Thai L2 English may help distinguish between transfer and markedness, since Grabe and Low (2002) report that Thai’s rhythmic characteristics are mixed, with high nPVI (like stress-timing) and high %V (like syllable-timing). If transfer from the substrate is dominant, we expect Thai English to be mixed, while if unmarkedness determines L2 rhythm, we expect both measures to resemble other L2 Englishes (low nPVI, high %V).

By looking at vowels, we also explore questions of transfer from the substrate vs. markedness/typology. In terms of quality, Thai has a simpler vowel system than English, lacking e.g. [ɪ] and [u], and uses length for contrast. We are measuring the first two formants of the monophthongs and plotting them to compare inventories; the durations of vowels that are similar in quality are also being measured to determine if length was used contrastively. The resulting system will be compared with Thai and with new Englishes in the area with different substrates, such as Hong Kong English (Hung 2000) and Tibeto-Burman-based Indian Englishes (Wiltshire 2005), to evaluate the role of direct transfer from the substrate vs. features shared throughout new Englishes.
Among the numerous statements Wilhelm von Humboldt made about the relation between language and nation he states in his late piece on the “Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues ...” (‘Diversity of human language structure ...’) that “der Begriff einer Nation muss vorzugsweise auf [die Sprache] begründet warden” (‘the concept of a nation must be based chiefly upon [language]’; Humboldt 1830-35/1963: 561), and a few lines down he confirms that “der Begriff der Nation als der eines auf bestimmte Weise sprachbildenen Menschenhaufens gegeben [ist]” (‘that the concept of nation is that of a pile of human beings shaping language in a specific way’; loc.cit.). Although the discourse on the correlation between ‘language and nation’ is by no means the invention of the 19th century (cf. Coulmas 1988; Münkler 1997; Mayer and Münkler 1997), it certainly reached its culmination point in that century. Hence reference books on the history of linguistics also tell us that ‘modern linguistics’ has its roots in early 19th-century romanticism which, in its turn, also informed the national movements of the era. However, as Joep Leerssen has recently shown (again), the link between language and nation and hence also linguistics and nation should be more precisely seen in terms of “languagy and ethnicity” (Leerssen 2007: 204-209).

About half a century after the peak of the 19th-century discourse on ‘language and nation / ethnicity’ had been reached, Saussure reflected the ongoing diversification of the ‘(social) sciences’ in making the distinction between ‘linguistics proper’ – and hence the concern of the Cours – and, e.g., ethnography. For Saussure it is the latter discipline that should preoccupy itself with the obervation that “c’est dans une large mesure la langue qui fait la nation” (transl. Harris: “it is in great part the language which makes the nation”; Saussure 1915/1971: 40; Saussure 1983: 21). Within this scientific share of labor, linguistics could be “conceived to be”, among other things “independent of political issues of authority, power and ideology” (Taylor 1990: 10). Does this mean that the linguists should be oblivious to such issues? As recent discussions in the field have shown, such positivistic oblivion would be irresponsible.

Hence we must be on the alert vis-à-vis to, e.g., statements about the history of English such as John H. Fisher’s, when he claims that “Henry V’s use of English marks the turningpoint in establishing English as the national language of England” (Fisher 1992/1996: 22). On the other hand insinuations such as the Grimms preparing the grounds for the Nazis (cf. Frantzen 1990: 69-71) are of very little help when tracing covert (or overt) linguistic nationalism. Constructing such unidirectional meta-récits is as illigimate as declaring Henry V – or, for that matter, Geoffrey Chaucer – the founding father of (Modern) English (cf. Schaefer in print). Moreover, linguists are called upon when they see that linguistic assertions in the name of ‘national interest’ cover some hidden social agenda. All in all we need to check our analytic arsenal when we diagnose overt as well as covert correlations between ‘language and nation / ethnicity / cultural identity’, always keeping in mind the very historicity of our discipline.

The workshop shall address these problems by discussing the covert or overt discourse of linguistic nationalism both in primary discourse, in linguistic metadiscourse and in negotiations which may potentially cater to such discourse.

This study exploits the phonetically determined allomorphy of the indefinite article to investigate the realization of initial <h> in the two major national varieties of English. This methodology enables us to carry out fine-grained analyses of pronunciation differences on the basis of large-scale written databases.

The seemingly simple rule assigning a to consonant-initial and an to vowel-initial words calls for some further comments. In effect, Quirk et al. (1985: 254) note that the use of the indefinite article fluctuates before some words with initial <h>, “depending on whether the h is pronounced or not.” What looks unspectacular on the surface however conceals a highly intricate and variable pattern. It has been remarked that [h] can optionally be deleted in the initial position of content words whose first syllable is unstressed and that British English is more prone to this deletion than American English. However, these observations still add up to a very poor state of research and reflect the complex reality only inadequately.

The aims of the present paper are of a descriptive and explanatory nature. On the descriptive level, the distribution of a and an before a large set of <h>-initial loanwords is investigated in an extensive corpus of British and American newspapers. The study then proceeds to a refined investigation of the parameters underlying the variable phonetic strength of the [h]-sound. Three factors turn out to have an explanatory potential in this respect: the degree of prominence of the initial syllable, the quantity of its nuclear vowel and the textual frequency of the <h>-initial lexeme. All three parameters are demonstrably valid for both major national varieties, though British English reveals a greater sensitivity to these distinctions. Thus, above and beyond the differences between the varieties, three overarching parameters are unearthed that unify the existing contrasts.
This paper presents a fine-grained corpus analysis of texts from the spoken part of ICE-GB. The extracts, amounting to 120,000 words, are hand-picked to neutralize the effects of the use-related variables of MEDIUM (spoken), SETTING as well as GENERAL FIELD OF DISCOURSE (private). The co-variables investigated include GENDER, EDUCATION, AGE and SOCIAL ROLE of all participants and, to some extent, TOPIC. Data targeted are the frequencies of occurrence of 30 lexico-grammatical features, including definite articles, second and third person personal pronouns, predicative adjectives, past tense verbs, intensifying adverbs, NP postmodifications realized by of-PPs and relative clauses.

The overarching aim of the study is to present systematic and empirical grammatical evidence from authentic corpus data for the socio-situational construction of identities in discourse, and to gauge the relative strength of the variables named above on the choice of style. A subordinate goal is to test the idea, dominant in doing-gender theory (cf. West and Zimmermann 1987, Cameron 1996), that speakers do not invariably stick to patterns prescribed by male or female genderlects, but perform gender identities depending on different factors residing in the speech situation.

The paper will include a methodological section discussing the pros and cons of using different types of statistical tools for the analysis of corpus data. More specifically, the potential of regression and mixed-effects analyses for assessing the relative strengths of user-related and use-related parameters of variation will be addressed.


One of the most striking, and perhaps surprising, findings when comparing the ecologies of World Englishes is the amount of language mixing and the number of truly mixed (hybrid) varieties involving Englishes. The formula X[lg name]+English has produced blends in many different countries, like Taglish, Singlish, Hinglish, Chinglish, Japlish, Denglisch, Finglish, etc. Others include “mix-mix” in Hong Kong, Sheng in Kenya, or Camfranglais in Cameroon, or lack a commonly accepted designation (e.g. in Malaysia, Pakistan, South Africa, and so on).

Based on the limited amount of documentation on such varieties that is available, on select internet sources, and on the results of a questionnaire distributed in countries where such varieties are spoken, this paper offers a systematic survey of the phenomenon in question, including structural properties and sociolinguistic parameters of use. In some cases these labels simply denote cases of strong lexical borrowing (like Denglisch) or uses traditionally described as code-switching or code-mixing (like Spanglish); in others, however, the amount and nature of mixing that is going on seems to be creating truly novel types of language varieties which are perceived as such by their speakers. A striking number of parallels can be observed. The speakers of these mixed codes are mostly young and urban, frequently highly educated, and always multilingual. Typically, educators and gatekeepers of linguistic propriety strongly resent the use of such mixed varieties. However, the mixed codes characteristically carry strong covert prestige, tend to be used in a playful fashion, and are frequently perceived as informal icons of implicit resistance against guidance by traditional authorities. Truly mixed varieties in Asia or Africa are often explicit expressions and symbols of new hybrid identities, torn between or deliberately combining traditional indigenous values on the one hand and westernizing orientations and attractions on the other.
Recent research in variational pragmatics has shown that small talk differs not only across languages, but also across cultures using the same language (cf. Schneider 2008). In an analysis of data from England, Ireland and the United States, features were established which occur consistently in one variety, but not across varieties. Cross-varietal differences include conventions of form as well as conventions of means of realizing interactional moves, but predominantly concern the sequencing and organization of larger discourse units. While many of these differences may not be variety-exclusive, there seem to be clear national preferences. Such preferences can be explained by assuming that the cognitive structures underlying the production of small talk are culturally determined and can therefore be conceptualized as cultural scripts (but not necessarily in an NSM sense; cf., e.g., Goddard and Wierzbicka 2007). These scripts are stored in the long-term memory and activated in the production process. They reflect what is considered appropriate in a given situation and expected by members of the same cultural community (cf. Watts 2003).

The present paper aims at exploring the structure and organization of cultural scripts underlying the production of small talk in national varieties of English as they manifest themselves in naturally occurring and, more explicitly, experimental data. The data analysed are carefully stratified since small talk conventions are sensitive to context and subject to macro-social variation. The approach adopted in the analysis is multi-disciplinary.


Bourdin (2003) argues that the two uses of go illustrated in the headline serve particular grammatical functions, which escape the attention of most grammar writing. On the basis of impressionistic observations and a lexical search of the BNC, he – among other things – finds that the go un-V-en and the go V-ing constructions exhibit collocational patterns revealing semantic constraints: In the former case, the construction is found to signal counternormativity, in the latter case, the construction is assumed to contribute to a non-motion reading of go, although there is an animate and agentive grammatical subject. I am going to report on a replication and extension of the above study (which is not very specific about its queries and the numerical outputs). In order to test some of the claims and hypotheses made, all occurrences of go immediately followed by V-en, V-ing and adjectives were extracted from the BNC. This enlarged data-set allows for two things: Firstly, it can help to discover whether some of the semantic constraints discussed by Bourdin are actually supported when looking at more comprehensive usage data. Secondly, it allows for testing whether these constraints can also be verified for more general, though closely related, constructions of go rather than for the go un-V-en and go V-ing constructions alone. Moreover, looking at all instances of go V-ing (instead of discarding those with a purely motional meaning) will also be informative about the interplay of the collocates in the creation of a non-motional reading of the construction. In practice, the query submitted to the BNC returned more than 5,000 instances of go V-en and almost 2,000 instances of go V-ing. These numbers exceed the ones of the first study by far (we can read that the go V-ing sample consisted of 118 instances, admittedly not containing pure motion readings of go). The usage data will be submitted to statistical significance tests such as collostructional analysis and co-varying collexeme analysis, in order to find the most strongly attracted collocates of go in the constructions at issue. The latter type of analysis is also informative about the interplay of collocates associated with different slots in one construction. From all these data, practically revealing the ‘semantic prosody’ of the constructions, we can gain more insight into the semantic constraints effective in them.

The paper will finally report on a comparison of the go V-ing construction with a third construction go enters into: the go-V construction analysed by Wulff (2006). This is suggested by the fact that both constructions contain a component of request: the latter containing an explicit imperative component, the former being frequent in ‘vetative or admonitory contexts’ (Bourdin 2003: 108). The comparison of all three constructions is a first step in establishing a network of constructions around one particular verb which is known to be especially prone to grammaticalization.

Bourdin; Philippe (2003) ‘On two distinct uses of go as a conjoined marker of evaluative modality’, In: Roberta Facchinetti, Manfred Krug and Frank Palmer (eds), Modality in Contemporary English, 103-127, Berlin etc: Mouton de Gruyter
A widely discussed notion about Australian English (AusE) is the tripartite division into ‘cultivated’, ‘general’ and ‘broad’ varieties (discussed in Mitchell and Delbridge 1965). Though this view has been criticised repeatedly, on methodological, theoretical and historical grounds, it is generally accepted that AusE displays social variation and that the most basilectal variety is characterised by a comparatively high frequency of phonological features (long vowels FLEECE and GOOSE, diphthong shifts in PRICE, MOUTH, GOAT and FACE; Wells 1982, Horvath 2004). This paper looks into a prominent case study of so-called ‘Broad AusE’ and the perception(s) its usage evokes in the media and common public. The individual we discuss, Steve Irwin (1962-2006), better known as the ‘Crocodile Hunter’, has polarised audiences around the world with his engaged performances in shows, TV documentaries and movies. His strong Australian accent and characteristic ways of speaking have been parodied and criticised on countless occasions, and there seems to be a common (mis)conception (particularly in the US) that his way of speaking is representative of AusE as a whole.

In this paper, we discuss language attitudes and track how the general public reacts to (and comments on) Steve Irwin (in a sense providing a down under perspective of the ‘Complaint tradition’ in English, as documented by the Milroys). More importantly, we examine the frequency of stereotypically ‘broad’ phonological AusE features in Irwin’s speech. We offer quantitative evidence that, against common views, several of these variables do not make a frequent appearance at all (if anything, his speech is more ‘general’); however, Irwin stereotypes and ‘over-uses’ two features (the MOUTH and PRICE diphthongs), which suggests that we are dealing with a case of dialect stereotyping and over-usage of a phonologically salient feature.


The question of productivity has always been considered a difficult one for modern linguistic theories in general (Aronoff, 1980) and has become one of the central empirical problems for theories of word-formation (Plag, 1999) in particular. Various definitions of productivity have been proposed in the literature (cf. e.g. Rainer, 1987: 188-190 and Bauer, 2001: 25), most of which take productivity as qualitative notion. These acknowledge the existence of a continuum, at the one end of which we find completely unproductive patterns and on the other end we find highly productive patterns with a number of cases ranging in-between. As a logical consequence, various ways of measuring how productive a particular pattern is have also been proposed. Most of these measures deal with words attested in dictionaries or corpora, i.e. they tell us “which words are actual, but not which words are possible” (Romaine, 1983: 181) and thus they give no evidence of the probability of new forms occurring, i.e. on the potential of a word-formation pattern to be exploited in the creation of new words. As this, however, is one of the defining feature of morphological productivity, this is clearly a serious flaw. In this present paper, we will try to remedy this by presenting results from two recent studies (Mühleisen 2006, Schröder forthc.) on the productivity of English word-formation patterns, in which new ways of measuring morphological productivity have been applied. These include acceptability and coinage tests via online surveys and the exploitation of the World Wide Web to search for potential new creations. As we will demonstrate, with these new methods the aspect of potentiality of word-formation can be tested and the proposed methods can thus be used to complement more traditional ways of measuring productivity and may help to give a more comprehensive analysis of this multi-layered phenomenon.

Schröder, Anne (forthc.) *On the Productivity of Verbal Prefixation in English*. Habilitationsschrift, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg.
A quantitative and close qualitative analysis of traditional, spoken dialect data from the FRED corpus (Freiburg Corpus of English Dialects) is the starting point of an investigation into the areas of obligation, hypotheticality and past habituality in the Midlands, the North, the Southeast and the Southwest of England. The aim of the study is twofold. While it is clearly a synchronic, dialectological project, the data is also evaluated in light of the diachronic pathways which have been proposed for the English modal verb system. The study strives to provide a more comprehensive account of the modal verb system in the British English dialects than has been offered in the literature, which is mainly concerned with the non-standard behavior of specific modals in Scottish English (Brown 1991, Miller 1993) and Northern varieties (Beal 2004, Trousdale 2003). While the FRED data does not contain the rather marked constructions usually discussed in the literature, it exhibits interdialectal variation on a more subtle, systematic level, namely degree of grammaticalization. While habitual WOULD is roughly equally frequent in all four dialect areas, USED TO patterns regionally. Historically, USED TO is much younger than habitual WOULD and was initially restricted to combinations with animate subjects and non-stative verbs (Tagliamonte/Lawrence 2000). In the FRED data USED TO ranges from 12.4 instances per 1,000 words in the Southeast down to 8.3 instances per 1,000 words in the North. On a qualitative level, lower frequency of use is accompanied by a greater resistance to grammaticalized combinations with stative verbs and non-animate subjects.

Tagliamonte, Sali and Helen Lawrence (2000) “‘I used to dance, but I don’t dance now’ / The Habitual Past in English.” Journal of English Linguistics 28.4: 324-353.
This paper will investigate one of the more curious aspects of “corpus planning” by the early BBC. While BBC policy on pronunciation, especially of proper names and foreign words, has been relatively well documented and commented on ever since the Company’s foundation in 1922 – the BBC became a Corporation only in 1927 – this is much less the case for its very prescriptive work on the English lexicon in the 1930’s. The BBC Sub-Committee for the Invention of New Words was founded in 1935 in order to coin suitable vocabulary in connection with the new medium of television but almost immediately took it upon itself to reform and regulate the general English lexicon: a host of new words were created to fill perceived “gaps” in the English language; “unassimilated loans” were purged and replaced with either “revived old words” or newly but “natively formed” ones; and, more broadly, in the case of two or more lexical alternatives, i.e. (near-)synonyms, the “vivid and expressive term” should be recommended over the “ugly and awkward” one. After only two years, the BBC Sub-Committee for the Invention of New Words folded due to a combination of institutional and, above all, linguistic reasons that will be explored in detail – paying particular attention to the role of linguists and well-meaning laypeople in the corpus planning process, the BBC’s overall linguistic mission, resources and feedback from listeners as well as earlier, similar attempts by others to exploit exclusively “native resources” in order to expand the English lexicon.

In recent years, the lively meta-level discussion of the cultural, ecological, socio-political and psychological issues raised by the global spread of English has taken precedence over the study of the whole range of linguistic consequences of this spread. However, conceptual and empirical research into English as a lingua franca (ELF), the most extensive contemporary use of English worldwide (often in the absence of any native speakers), has been gathering momentum of late. ELF is usually conceptualized in a way that does not warrant its inclusion in the categories this thematic session focuses on, viz. second-language varieties of English and learner Englishes. However, it seems appropriate to enquire into why and how it is different, and what the similarities and differences among these kinds of English are. This paper will report on a corpus that constitutes a first empirical basis on which these questions can be investigated: the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE). I will discuss specific methodological problems that arise when dealing with ELF data and home in on some findings in the field of lexicogrammar that are emerging from the analysis of the spoken interactions captured in the corpus. I aim to show that the general processes and salient features that are emerging as characteristic of ELF are entirely compatible with our understanding of how languages always vary and change according to different circumstances.
In the southern part of Ireland, the prestige form of English is not the British Received Pronunciation. One assumes that “the prestige form of English is that spoken in the capital, Dublin.” (Hickey 1999: 265) In the last 15 years, there has been a major sound change in Dublin. This new pronunciation is said to spread rapidly to other areas of Ireland. (Hickey 2007)

In traditional mainstream Southern Irish English, the vowels in the CHOICE, LOT and THOUGHT lexical sets tend to have a lower or rather unrounded realisation compared to British English. (Bliss 1984: 135ff, Hickey 2004: 47) Regarding the recent shifts in Dublin, diphthongs with a low back starting point as in toy tend to be raised, thus [t̠ʰi] becomes [t̠ʰɨ] or [tʰi]. Low velar vowels are also raised, e.g. cot [kɒt] becomes [kɔt], caught [kɒt] comes [kɔɾt] or [ko:t] (Hickey 2004: 47f, 2007). This paper investigates how far these changes have actually spread across the country so far.

In this paper, data collected during fieldwork in Galway City, a fast-growing university town near the Connemara-Gaeltacht in the West of Ireland, will be presented. The sociolinguistic interviews (modelled on Sali Tagliamonte 2005, 2006), which were conducted in the summer of 2007, investigate which of the aforementioned features of the new Dublin pronunciation have spread throughout the country already and which speakers are affected by the shift. I will present results based on the speech of 70 born and bred Galwegians aged 18 to 94, who belong to different social classes and who have passed different educational levels. SPSS-based logit-models predict the probability for the use or non-use of the above features for the external variables age, gender and socioeconomic class.

www.cambridge.org/resources/0521771153/2846_APPENDIX%20B.pdf <10.06.2007>
Surface similarities across New Englishes have attracted interest in pan-dialectal universals (Platt, Weber and Ho 1984; Williams 1987; Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi 2004). I argue in this paper that close quantitative analysis shows New Englishes to be typologically distinct from one another in important ways. Comparing Indian English (IndE) to other varieties, I focus on two questions: (i) When is a typological difference evident? (ii) To what extent can substrate systems explain emergent systems?

The typological class of a grammatical subsystem is not evidenced by the mere presence of a trait, but rather by its frequency and consistency across speakers. I examine these properties for two grammatical features: copula omission and aspectual marking. In the first example, I show that copula omission occurs in both IndE and Singaporean English (SgE) but is less frequent and less consistent across the lectal continuum of IndE. In fact, a quantitative comparison shows that the copula system of the substrate language(s) finely conditions the typological class of the new variety (Sharma and Rickford forthcoming).

By contrast, the second example shows aspectual restructuring to be robust in both IndE and SgE. Yet close examination of these systems shows again that the emergent systems are not identical. I present quantitative evidence that IndE realigns English perfect, progressive, and tense morphology according to Indo-Aryan perfective-imperfective distinctions. This realignment explains features of Indian English that have been cited elsewhere, such as over-use of progressive (Bickerton 1981) and perfect with past meaning (Leitner 1991). A comparison with data presented in Bao (2005) suggests that overlaps between IndE and SgE aspectual restructuring are restricted to overlaps in the substrate systems.

Surface similarities across new Englishes may thus simply reflect typological resemblances among substrates. Although this paper argues that broad grammatical subsystems often rely on the substrate model, in closing I point to exceptions arising in parts of the grammar that are more susceptible to restructuring driven by discourse, register, or semantic transparency.

Comparative philology, as developed above all by Jacob Grimm, was the most influential discovery of the 19th century, in the human sciences: its effects on the study of literature, myth, history, linguistics, and even philosophy can readily be described. Regrettably, it contained within it ideological elements whose effects were not so readily seen, but which remain with us. One was the belief that language and nation should be co-terminous (i.e. have the same boundaries). But what is a language, and what is only a dialect? Another, the belief that nations, and national characteristics, were in some sense eternal, the latter embedded in the language. But how was this to be proved? This paper will briefly outline the successes of comparative philology, and explore the roots of its later failure.

This paper will use the Wmatrix semantic analysis corpus tool to compare the characters in Harold Pinter’s Betrayal. It will be helpful if participants have read the play and/or watched a video, DVD or film of the play before they come to the conference. I will show how Wmatrix can be used as part of an analysis of the main characters in the play and their relationships. An important point which will emerge is that this corpus tool, like other such tools, does not give us automatic answers, but shows us potentially interesting parts of the text to examine in detail, resulting in a constant ‘Spitzerian’ analytical circle. The Wmatrix output also suggests possible interpretative avenues to explore.
One of the puzzling observations of current research on varieties of English is that regionally unrelated varieties can be surprisingly similar with respect to the non-standard grammatical features they possess, even if no obvious historical origin of these features can be reconstructed. For example, the use of the English progressive aspect with state verbs, inversion in embedded interrogative clauses and the more extensive use of the definite article are found in Irish English and Indian English – for no apparent reason. It has been hypothesized that this coincidence of features can only be understood in terms of linguistic universals and even the more restricted notion of *angloversals* has been introduced into the current discussion (Mair 2003).

The main problem for such an approach is that varieties of English come in different types (traditional dialects, shift varieties, L2 varieties, etc.) and that it is strictly speaking not possible to compare them without taking the differences across and between them into consideration. Comparing the use of the simple past in present perfect contexts in, say, traditional Scottish English and Singapore English makes one wonder if one is comparing like with like.

The main point of my presentation is to show that such comparisons can make a lot of sense, provided they are carefully performed. I will argue that the mere absence or presence of a feature is something we should not be content with and that it is necessary to look into the distribution, the contexts of use and also into the genesis of such non-standard features. Such analyses will reveal *inter alia* that interrogative inversion in Irish English and Indian English is not the same even if it superficially looks the same (Hilbert 2008) and that the different tense forms competing in present perfect contexts (simple past, present perfect, present tense) differ in subtle distributional details across varieties of English even though they have stable core meanings (Davydova 2008).


The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate that some types of relative to-infinitives (RTIs) were already in use throughout OE, while another emerged towards the end of that period, paving the way for future expansion. Although infinitives modifying nominal constituents have been consistently reported (e.g. Los 2005), a systematic account of the early evolution of RTIs still has to be provided. Accordingly, drawing on the YCOE and occurrences collected for my doctoral dissertation, I will show that four main types are already found in OE:

1. Infinitives closing off an existential/presentational clause, with a weakened purposive meaning:
   … næs ðær mara fyrst freode to frielan. (Beowulf)
   … there was no more time to sue for friendly peace (= during which they could sue…)

2. RTIs that can also be analysed as content clauses:
   Si ðe forgýfen miht to gebindenne and to alysenne (Ælfric’s Sermones catholicae)
   Receive [lit. “be you given”] power to bind and release (= by which you can bind and release)

3. Infinitives that would be equivalent to a purpose adverbial, if they modified a verb and not a noun:
   hwearf eft on þæt weorc Godes word to læranne. (King Ælfric’s translation of Bede)
   he turned again to the labour of teaching [lit. “to teach” = through which he taught] the word of God
   (N.B. In he laboured to teach…, the infinitive expresses purpose)

4. RTIs that have emerged towards the end of OE, through leaving out a relative pronoun and a copula:
   Hæbbe ge her ænig Þincg Þe to etenne si? (Ælfric’s Sermones catholicae)
   Do you have anything to eat [lit. “that be to eat”]?
   Phrases like sum ðing to donne can also be found in the same work.

Further developments highlighted in the literature will be summarised, to provide an overall sense of perspective.

Kjellmer, G. (1988) “‘What a night on which to die!’: On symmetry in English relative clauses” in English Studies 69, 559-568.
In Simon-Vandenbergen (forthcoming) it is argued that the adverbs of modal certainty *certainly* and *definitely*, while in some contexts semantically and pragmatically very close, nevertheless show different preferences with regard to the contexts in which they tend to occur, with regard to collocation and with regard to their recent developments. It was found on the basis of a frequency study of the British National Corpus that the two adverbs have marked preferences with regard to the degree modifiers *most* and *almost*: *certainly* has a preference for *almost*, while *definitely* has a preference for *most*. This led to the conclusion that, following Paradis (forthcoming), *certainly* is typically conceptualised as a bounded concept, while *definitely* is typically conceptualised as an unbounded concept.

Simon-Vandenbergen (forthcoming) is a synchronic study of the usage of the two words in present-day British English. The present paper takes a diachronic perspective and examines how these different collocational and contextual preferences can be explained from their respective historical developments. The core propositional meaning of the two adverbs certainly does not explain why one would have developed into a mainly scalar word (*definitely*), and the other into a mainly totality word (*certainly*). Also taking into account their more recent semantic-pragmatic developments the paper shows how different paths of grammaticalisation have been followed and when we see signs of these processes taking place.

The data are gathered from the Helsinki Corpus, the Corpus of Early English Correspondence, the Corpus of English Dialogues, the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts (Extended version) and the Corpus of English Novels.


Simon-Vandenbergen, A.-M. (forthcoming) *Almost certainly* and *most definitely*: degree modifiers and epistemic stance.

### Nicholas Smith and Marianne Hundt

(University of Salford / University of Zurich)

**The present perfect in British and American English – has there been any change, recently?**

Wednesday, 12:30 – 13:00, Room 1098

Previous corpus-based studies of Present Day English, whenever they include regional variation, have consistently shown the Present Perfect (PP) to be more commonly used in British than in American English. The American *Did you eat?* for British *Have you eaten?* can even be considered one of the shibboleths of transatlantic grammatical differences (cf. Strevens, 1972: 48; Biber et al., 1999: 463). Evidence from parallel corpora might show that this is no longer the case. Elsness (forthcoming), based on the untagged version of the Brown-quartet and a study of 20 frequently used verbs, provides preliminary evidence that the decrease of the PP continues into the second half of the twentieth century. He points at a regional difference, namely that the decline is slowing down in AmE and that BrE is approaching the level of AmE. In other words, the two national varieties appear to be converging in their use of the PP. Evidence from our tagged corpora will show whether this is, indeed, the case. We will look at both quantitative and qualitative evidence on the development of the PP. The macroscopic, quantitative approach will consider the overall frequency of the PP, frequency variation according to text type, as well as relative frequencies of PP and simple past (SP). The microscopic, qualitative approach will focus...
on the co-occurrence of the PP and SP with temporal adverbials (e.g. the use of current-relevance adverbials with the SP).


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**Anatol Stefanowitsch**

(University of Bremen)

**Constructional preemption, Goldberg-style: a corpus-based approach**

Friday, 14:30 – 15:00, Room 1098

One problem with synchronic grammatical variation is how to constrain it. Even in the case of highly productive cases of variation, such as the dative shift, there are cases that resist the choice of one of the variants even when all semantic and contextual criteria are met. For example, the ditransitive usually occurs in contexts where the recipient is given and the theme is new, while the prepositional dative occurs in contexts where the theme is given while the recipient is new (cf. Thompson 1990):

(1) a. *During lunch, casually mention that your flatmate’s grades have really improved since his parents gave him an iPhone* (Guardian).

   b. *He decided that his iPhone was “pretty useless” so he gave it to his 20-year-old daughter* (Financial Times).

However, some verbs regularly violate these information-structural preferences since there is an absolute constraint that blocks them from occurring in the ditransitive:

(2) a. *Bunnell went ahead with his plan to have his kidney removed, and instead of giving it to his wife he donated it to a complete stranger* (Times).

   b. *In 1987 his mother Jean donated her kidney to him* (BBC) [not: *... donated him her kidney*]

In my talk, I will briefly address three types of evidence that speakers may use in detecting such constraints: (i) simple preemption (i.e. the idea that the mere existence of an alternative expression will stop speakers from using a particular construction); (ii) negative evidence (i.e. the idea that the non-occurrence of an expression that would have been expected to occur on statistical grounds will cause speakers to assume that that expression is not possible, cf. Stefanowitsch, in press); and (iii) Goldberg-style contextual preemption (i.e. the idea that the choice of one variant in a context where the other would have been expected will lead to the assumption that the other variant is not possible at all, cf. Goldberg 1995).

Using the dative shift as a testing ground, I will show that simple preemption cannot be at work at all, that contextual preemption is somewhat more plausible but typically does not yield effects that are strong enough for the speaker to use it as a source of information about linguistic constraints, and that negative evidence is so far the best source of information available to the speaker.


Over the last few decades, research into those post-colonial second-language varieties of English that are commonly referred to as New Englishes has repeatedly presented examples of characteristic morphosyntactic modifications, many of which were labelled as instances of “simplification”. However, this notion has predominantly been used in a pre-theoretical and intuitive way and, in fact, agreed-upon measures for the complexity of languages hardly exist. Siegel (2004) points out four dimensions of the problem: Should simplicity be understood in absolute or comparative terms? Should it be analysed holistically or modularly? Should it be defined quantitatively or qualitatively? Does it reflect reduction of complexity or lack of development of complexity?

The present paper focuses specifically on the latter question, which is of primary significance in acquisition-based approaches to New Englishes. So far, only very few studies have concentrated on acquisitional processes underlying grammar construction in the context of Outer Circle varieties. Most notably, Williams (1987) attributes prominent features of New Englishes to psycholinguistic strategies operating in second-language acquisition; but although she touches on the “one-to-one mapping of form and meaning” at various points in her study, she does not seem to recognise iconicity as the central unifying principle behind these strategies, neither does she seem to realise its fundamental relevance to language acquisition and language processing.

On the basis of theoretical considerations and the analysis of select examples from New Englishes, I will discuss iconicity as the major cognitive explanation for “New-Englishness” and argue for abandoning the vague descriptive notion of simplification, which has traditionally been associated with imperfect learning. Since the mental processes involved in language acquisition and language change have fossilised and crystallised in their morphosyntactic structures, New Englishes can be said to provide an ideal opportunity to study the dynamics of cognitive form-function mapping.

A conversational trait attributed to speakers of American English is certainly the compliment. Not only according to European folk notions does no other people tend to these ubiquitous pleasantries as the Americans (supposedly) do. It is hardly surprising then that many among the early studies in compliment research focus on this variety of English. Among them is the groundbreaking discovery of the compliment formulae by Manes and Wolfson (1981), which has since been replicated with focus on other Englishes besides American English as well as a variety of different languages.

Considering the vast field of research, it may at first glance seem virtually old-fashioned to (re-)investigate the complimenting behavior of American English speakers. Yet, in the research done so far, certain features are still unaccounted for. The compliment formulae have been studied as well as the responses and the “appropriate” situations. However, the utterances are usually described as sole entities, i.e. compliment and response, and not in their connection.

Thus, in a new approach, the present study intends to combine the respective turns in an analysis of the speech event of “complimenting”. To achieve this task, the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English serves as data source. This corpus offers not only near natural conversations in American English but also a variety of social situations such as conversations in a classroom, between family members and friends of various age groups.

For this inquiry, I investigate the compliment sequence with a specially developed model based on findings of research on compliments and responses. This model is applied to a range of different situations to answer to questions such as whether or not there is a distinction in the “American” complimenting behavior depending on the conversational situation of the speakers.
This paper gives examples of computer-assisted methods for discovering patterns in corpora and in individual texts. There are three main points:

1. Computer-assisted corpus analysis is good at finding patterns in language use which are invisible to introspection. The clearest progress has been made in identifying recurrent phrasal units of meaning (Sinclair 1998). This has had a major impact on dictionary design.

2. Computer-assisted methods can easily find fixed multi-word strings (n-grams), but very few phrasal units of meaning are entirely fixed, and it is much more difficult to identify units which are recurrent but variable. Software by Cheng et al. 2006 and Fletcher 2003-08 can help with this problem.

3. Description and theory are at an early stage in applying findings from large corpora to the analysis of individual texts. Work here is currently limited to individual case studies, but the following principle is clear:

   If a phrasal unit is frequent and widely distributed in a large general corpus, this implies (a) that it is not text-dependent, but part of the language system, and (b) that it is not topic-dependent, but serves a general pragmatic function, such as emphasizing an important point in the discourse. For text and corpus analysis, traditional KWIC concordances are familiar and essential, though they may overemphasize individual node words. Other software can search for other patterns, including:

   - variable phrasal units, e.g. non-contiguous n-grams
   - a word’s collocational profile: its most frequent preceding and following collocates
   - clusters of words which inter-collocate in a text
   - the distribution of words across a text.


What types of linguistic information do people use to construct the meaning of a sentence? The purpose of this paper is to advance plausible arguments against constructional approaches (Goldberg 1995 and 2006 among others) to grammar. The basic idea assumed in them is that the simple sentence types in English are directly correlated with one or more semantic structures. In this paper, I argue that there is evidence supporting the traditional view that the basic sentence patterns of a language are determined by semantic or syntactic information specified by the MAIN VERB. My goal is to explore in detail how a projectionist approach as a whole operates and show that this approach is at least possible in determination of sentence meaning.

It is shown that there are at least three reasons for supporting the projectionist’s foundational assumption that verb meaning provides a key to verb behaviour.

First, the argument realisation option of new denominal verbs provide support for this assumption. For example, *wand* cannot be extended to the ditransitive construction even though *fax* is. This fact is more easily explained by considering that the verb’s syntactic behaviour is projected by its meaning. The crucial difference between the two is whether or not the denominal verb designates the scene of transfer.

Second, how could possibly the divergent range of meaning expressed by the transitive construction be accommodated by its prototypical meaning ‘X ACT ON Y’ as is claimed by Bencini and Goldberg (2000)?

A third reason lies in a lexical semantic analysis of the verb meaning, which augments the event structure of a verb to make a complex construction. The resultative construction, for example, is considered to involve a complex event structure where the event structure template associated with the main verb is augmented to a complex structure by a causal link.
Expressive speech acts reveal psychological states of mind and express personal attitudes and feelings. They deal with social and interpersonal relations, with politeness considerations in the forefront. The list of expressives includes speech acts like compliments, thanks, congratulations, condolences, insults and apologies (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2000, 2008, Taavitsainen and Jucker 2008) Some of them can show a vast range of different manifestations, ranging from formulaic and conventional uses to creative and unpredictable linguistic realizations. Some speech acts can be performed with a limited number of routine utterances and are relatively easy to detect with current corpus methodologies, while the less formulaic, indirect and creative realizations have turned out to be resistant to large corpus-based searches (see Jucker et al. 2008). Speech acts can only be traced if they are sufficiently routinized or if the co-occur regularly with specific illocutionary indicating devices (IFIDs), which allow their identification in large corpora (Taavitsainen and Jucker 2007). The historical dimension poses additional challenges as the speech acts themselves may have changed and the sociohistorical context with the changing conventions of politeness needs to be taken into account.

Expressive speech acts can be divided into two main categories: the inherently polite versus the inherently impolite speech acts (Taavitsainen and Jucker, forthcoming). In this paper we shall focus on two polite speech acts in the sense that they directly enhance the addressee’s face, i.e. compliments and thanks. They are very different in many respects. Compliments may have an infinite number of realizations and they have to be negotiated, whereas thanks tend to be formulaic with a limited number of manifestations. Yet there are different ways of enhancing the feeling of gratitude, and the expressions vary in their form in different periods. The material of our empirical study comes from various genres of writing, with varying genre constraints, e.g. handbooks and manuals contain prescriptive and descriptive comments, textbooks for language learners reveal core expressions, and novels and drama have their own restrictions but offer us a rich array of examples. We shall outline the development of these two speech acts, compliments and thanks, in the history of English and discuss the challenges that they pose to corpus-based analysis.


Contextual constraints in linguistic change are thought to remain constant as change progresses (Kroch 1989). However recent research suggests that in grammaticalizing change constraints on variable forms may also strengthen or weaken as part of the developmental process (Poplack and Tagliamonte 1999; Tagliamonte 2004). Comparative studies of actively changing linguistic features of English provide the opportunity for exploring this further. Layering of forms for stative possessive in English in (1) is a case in point.

(1) I’ve got a cousin that has it and she gets it every month (Northern Ireland)

Using the comparative method and a quantitative approach I provide an analysis of the variation illustrated in (1) in a selection of British and Northern Irish dialects, each of which have evolved in contrasting social and geographic situations. Extrapolating from suggestions that the details of a form’s lexical history may be reflected in constraints on its current distribution (Hopper and Traugott 1993, Bybee et al. 1994), I test for internal constraints which have been implicated in this grammatical change, including type of reference, nature of the subject and object, contraction, negation and question formation (Jespersen 1961, Visser 1963-73, Kroch 1989)

The results reveal, for example, that while certain constraints are constant over time (have got is favoured with concrete objects), others result from developments in the trajectory of change. Different intra-dialectal distributions across generations as well as idiosyncratic cross-dialectal patterns provide additional insights into the underlying mechanisms of change in this area of English grammar. This history is still apparent, to a greater or less degree, depending on the constraint and the point on the grammaticalization path embodied in the data.


Language is often viewed as a window to cognition. In spite of this central fact in cognitive science, the precise nature of the relationship between language and cognition is still seriously underspecified. This is mainly due to a lack of interdisciplinary co-ordination. Experts in linguistics typically focus on language as a system and language produced for purposes of interaction. In other areas in cognitive science such as psychology, language – for instance, produced as verbal reports in cognitively demanding tasks – is seen as an important externalization of cognitive processes; however, lacking the relevant linguistic expertise, crucial facts about language and language use cannot be accounted for in the analysis. This contribution presents an innovative methodology to remedy this discrepancy. Cognitive Discourse Analysis (CODA) was developed and applied first for the investigation of particular spatial and temporal dimensional terms in English and German in Tenbrink (2007), building on related research. A crucial feature of this method is to enable speakers to spontaneously produce language in precisely defined tasks but without external influence as far as linguistic choices are concerned. The basic assumption that is central to CODA is that both subtle and obvious distinctions in language reflect underlying differences with respect to cognitive components and processes. The investigation of systematic differences in relation to the given task and discourse setting leads to a better understanding of the relationship between language and underlying conceptions. This general idea is referred to as psychopragmatics (as opposed to sociopragmatics, the investigation of language used for communicative purposes) by Caron-Pargue and Caron (1991). I will present the approach in general and provide illustrative examples taken from ongoing research in which the method is applied.


From the 18th century onwards (following Samuel Johnson’s observations in the Preface to his Dictionary) the phrasal verbs have been used as a means to construct a distinctive linguistic identity for English. Consequently, the phrasal verbs have come to be characterized as a construction which is peculiar to English and somehow special in its semantic, syntactic and stylistic properties, and which is neither tied to the Latinate (‘High’) variety nor comparable to other languages. E.g., in their discussion of the frequencies of the most common phrasal verbs in four registers (‘conversation’, ‘fiction’, ‘news’, ‘academic prose’) Biber et al. (1999: 409) state:

Overall, conversation and fiction show much greater use of the most common phrasal verbs than news and academic prose. The difference is especially noteworthy for intransitive phrasal verbs, which are extremely common in conversation and fiction, but extremely rare in news and academic prose. One reason for this is that most phrasal verbs are colloquial in tone.

A closer look at the figures in Biber et al. (1999), though, raises the question whether it is their colloquiality that accounts for the relative lack of the most common phrasal verbs in news and in academic prose – altogether, the figures are quite inconclusive. In many instances phrasal verbs are stylistically neutral (e.g. look up a word); in some cases they may even be distinctly formal (e.g. call forth). The discussion in Biber et al. is typical; cf. Quirk et al. (1985: ch. 16.3f.) among very many similar examples.

Where does that preconception come from? As I have shown elsewhere (Thim 2007), it is not before the end of the 18th century that phrasal verbs come to be regarded as colloquial; indeed, characterizations of earlier occurrences of phrasal verbs as ‘colloquial’ or ‘informal’ (cf. Strang 1970 and practically all subsequent discussions in the literature) are quite implausible at closer scrutiny.

Despite the undeniable fact that the English verb-particle construction does have some characteristic properties (with notable differences between different varieties, cf. Schneider 2004 and Rohdenburg 2007) these properties tend to be vastly overemphasized as the result of an ideologically motivated attempt at constructing a degree of linguistic otherness that is hardly corroborated by the linguistic data. In the light of this insight I will propose a reassessment of the phrasal verbs in English.

When Fowler’s *Modern English Usage* was published in 1926, 60,000 copies were sold in its first year (McMorris 2001: 178). A second revised edition by Sir Ernest Gowers in 1965 and a third in 1996 by R.W. Burchfield testify to its continued success. Burchfield stresses Fowler’s “isolation … from the mainstream of linguistic scholarship” (1996:vii), yet the work shows a remarkable similarity of approach with parts of the grammar by Robert Lowth, published more than 150 years earlier in 1762, and Robert Baker’s *Reflections on the English Language* of 1770. The latter work, unique and unusual though it is (Vorlat 2001), can, I think, be considered the first in a long tradition of usage guides such as Fowler’s.

In this paper I intend to explore the relationship between the works of Fowler, Baker and Lowth. As neither Fowler nor Baker appear to have relied on Lowth’s grammar, the similarity between the three must be looked for in the nature of the work they undertook to write and the audience for which they wrote. I will show that Lowth’s grammar, though not a usage guide in its own right, contains parts, particularly the footnotes to its section on syntax, that can be considered as representing an embryonic stage in the evolution of the usage guide. It is this that accounts for its immediate popularity at the time, as well as the scorn in which Lowth is generally held by modern linguists today (Hussey 1995; Pullum 1974; Tieken-Boon van Ostade 2006). In my paper I will also analyse the treatment of the writers by modern linguists, including the authors responsible for revising Fowler’s *Modern English Usage*.

Heli Tissari  
(University of Helsinki)  
**What kind of force?**  
**On conceptual metaphors of emotion and passion in 17th- to 20th-century English**  
Saturday, 11:30 – 12:00, Room 1016

Diller characterises Middle English passions as “outside forces affecting the human person” (2007: 17). A look at the noun *emotion*, occurring 86 times in *A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers* (ARCHER, 1650–1990), suggests that it can be either an inner, felt force, or an outer force felt by the experiencer, or doing something to the experiencer. This paper will further characterise the behaviour of the nouns *emotion* and *passion* as forces in 17th- to 20th-century English in terms of conceptual metaphor theory (Kövecses 1990, 2000). FORCE represents the source domain being mapped on the target domain EMOTION or PASSION. Apart from differences between the two target domains, the research questions include:

1. (a) What kind of FORCES occur?  
   (b) What about demarcation problems?  
2. Do people display the effects of these FORCES? (Does the data suggest any norms regarding the expression or representation of EMOTION/PASSION?)  
3. Do the FORCES downplay people’s own responsibility for their behaviour?

Other metaphors are discussed to the extent necessary to get a relevant overall view. Apart from using the ARCHER, my aim is to find other suitable corpus data for the study. If necessary, I also propose to have a look at the *Oxford English Dictionary* as a corpus.

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Michael Toolan  
(University of Birmingham)  
**Stylistics as a raising of questions about the language of literary texts**  
Thursday, 17:00 – 17:30, Room 1098

Sometimes stylisticians give the impression that their discipline is all about giving answers: answers to questions about why a particular poem prompts a particular effect, or reaction, or interpretation in ‘the’ reader (or ‘these readers’ or just ‘this stylistician’). The stylistician’s answer always points to some particular feature or resources in the language, on which the poem draws. But answers are interactionally problematic, when they signify ‘job done’, ‘case closed’. I want to draw attention to the way that *doing* stylistics can provoke questions—or provoke further questions in the course of answering a first question. Because stylistic analyses often cause us to frame further questions (about the literary text and its properties, and about the procedures used to analyse it) they extend the conversation, open it out, and make it potentially relevant to issues and interests not foreseen at the outset.

Among the numerous recent questions stylisticians have asked are the following: What are the linguistic roots of texture and textual coherence? What are the crucial language resources that cause a reader to feel ‘involved’ in a poem? What interpretive effects in a narrative can be linked with the presence of forms of negation or modality? How does assumed deictic orientation contribute to the reader’s judgements about point of view, and reader-character empathy or sympathy? What are the consequences of choices among the different modes of speech, thought and writing presentation found in novels? And so on. I will talk further about the questions I have been recently asking, about the textual sources of readers’ expectations about and sense of ‘immersion in’ literary narratives, and report on the further questions that my analyses have provoked.
Philosophers and theoretical linguists have devoted a lot of attention to sentences where universal quantifiers precede negation (*all* + *not* like (1), discussing the possible interpretations in (2) and (3). (Cf. Horn 1989.) In (2) negation has scope over the universal quantifier *all* (Neg-Q), whereas in (3), the negative has scope only over the verb (Neg-V).

1. *All* the boys did *not* leave
2. ‘*Not all* the boys left (i.e. some stayed)’ Neg-Q
3. ‘*All* the boys ‘*not-left*’ (none of the boys left, i.e. all stayed)’ Neg-V

Scholars basing their arguments purely on logic have argued that the Neg-V reading is the only legitimate interpretation, but Tottie and Neukom-Hermann (forthcoming), show that in the 100 million words of the British National Corpus (BNC), the most frequent reading by far is that in (2), and that (3) is extremely rare.

But why do speakers use (1) at all rather than the unambiguous structures where the negative expression actually precedes the universal quantifier (*not* + *all*), as in (4)?

4. *Not all* the boys left

In this paper, we examine the use of the the two types, *all* + *not* and *not* + *all*, in the BNC, and show that there are large differences between spoken and written language. Thus in spoken language both *all* + *not* nor *not* + *all* are much less frequent than in written language (1.9 vs. 9.35 instances per million words). Moreover, the proportions of the two types are radically different in speech and writing: speakers prefer the *all* + *not* construction (63%) , and writers the *not* + *all* construction (72%). (Similar results apply to constructions with *every*.)

We believe our findings can only be accommodated by a cognitively based linguistic theory and discuss how they can be interpreted in a construction grammar framework.


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Elizabeth Closs Traugott
(Stanford University)

Paths for English language studies
Presidential address, Wednesday, 18:30, Room 1010

In the latter half of the twentieth century English set much of the agenda for theoretical linguistics. Meanwhile English came to be a global language; Crystal (2006) suggested that by the year 2000 approximately 25% of the world’s population was able to use English at some level of communication. However, it has recently been emphasized that English is in many respects unusual among the languages of Europe (see the EUROTP volumes), and even among the languages of the world, as measured by criteria of typology (e.g. Croft 2002) or of the cartography of UG and comparative syntax (e.g. Cinque and Kayne 2005). While the internet may prove to be a conservative factor in maintaining or increasing the role of English(es), geopolitical shifts may nevertheless bring about significant changes in the future (McArthur 2006). Against the backdrop of these developments, I outline some trends in English language studies, with particular attention to recent shifts in linguistics, among them the call for grounding in empirical evidence; attention to variation and to micro-factors, whether micro-parameters or micro-changes; and especially to meaning, both linguistic and social. I conclude that English language studies are flourishing and have been invigorated by investigation of varieties of English world-wide.
Realisations of <th> in English vary considerably across time and space as well as between social groups, registers and style. The present paper will establish a typology of variable <th> realisations and raise questions about the conditioning factors of this variance in the Englishes spoken in the former inner and outer colonies.

For more than ten years now, construction-based approaches to grammar (cf. e.g. Fillmore and Kay 1996; Sag 1997; Ginzburg and Sag 2000; Croft 2001; Langacker 2005; Goldberg 2006) have become increasingly popular. The basic tenet of such approaches is that all levels of grammatical description (morphemes, words, idioms, abstract phrasal patterns) involve constructions, i.e. conventionalised form-meaning pairings. In line with the general theme of the ISLE conference, in the workshop we would like to explore how construction-based approaches provide new insights for the study of the English language as well as how data from the English language can help to refine construction grammar theories. In particular we would like to address the questions of how synchronic variation and diachronic change in the English language can be captured by construction grammar approaches as well as how such data can help to decide between competing models of construction grammar.

The main topics to be addressed are as follows:

1. Empirical data and their construction grammar interpretation
   All proponents of construction grammar claim that “[a]ny construction with unique idiosyncratic morphological, syntactic, lexical, semantic, pragmatic or discourse-functional properties” (Croft and Cruse 2004: 263) must be stored in a speaker’s construction network, i.e. his/her mental grammar. However, how can we uncover such idiosyncrasies in our empirical sources (e.g. in the various English corpora such BROWN, FROWN, FLOB, LOB or the ICE project/ in introspection experiments / etc.)? What kind of generalisations about a speaker’s mental construction grammar can be drawn from such data?

2. Usage and grammar: the role of (type and token) frequency in entrenchment
   A major issue within the construction grammar community concerns the role of frequency of constructions in language use: “usage-based models” (e.g., Langacker 2005; Goldberg 2006) advocate that, in addition to idiosyncrasy, frequent use of a construction can also lead to it being cognitively entrenched, even if its properties can be completely derived compositionally. “Complete-inheritance models” (e.g., Fillmore and Kay 1996; Ginzburg and Sag 2000, on the other hand, deny that highly frequent but compositional constructions must be stored. Does the English language exhibit phenomena which could be argued to show that high type or token frequency affect the mental entrenchment of constructions? If so, how can we quantitatively support such claims (e.g. by statistical analysis)? Or can all phenomena in question be handled by complete-inheritance models?
3. Construction Grammar and synchronic variation
In present-day English two or more structural variants often seem to be possible realisations of a single linguistic variable (take, e.g., preposition stranding the topic which he talked about and pied piping the topic about which he talked or particle placement turn the lights on vs. turn on the lights). What is the empirical distribution of such variants and how are these mentally associated? Is there a need to postulate a highly schematic superordinate construction for linguistic variables such “preposition placement” or “particle placement” (cf. Capelle’s 2006 allostructional model)? Or are such variables only linguistic generalisations without a mental representation (cf. Gries 2003)? Furthermore, how do data from non-standard Englishes help us to refine our understanding of a speaker’s constructional network? Specifically, how do we incorporate idiolectal, dialectal and sociolinguistic variation into a theory of constructions?

4. Construction Grammar accounts of diachronic change
Recent research in historical linguistics (e.g. Hollmann 2003, Hilpert 2007, Bergs and Diewald forthcoming) has foregrounded the place of constructions in accounts of syntactic change. How can issues in the diachronic development of English syntax be captured in construction grammar approaches? In what way do grammaticalisation and lexicalisation affect the construction network of a speaker? How have constructions emerged in the history of the language? What can historical data from English suggest about the relationship between lexical categories and constructions?

A classic in the comparative typology of West Germanic is Hawkins (1986). Though it has been criticized (esp. by Rohdenburg, Köpcke and Panther), many of the arguments and generalizations remain valid (as can be seen also in König and Gast 2007), and in areas where it went wrong, the criticism it generated has allowed us to get a clearer understanding of the differences between German and English. Surprisingly, one has not (sufficiently) applied the Hawkins (1986) hypotheses to Dutch. The paper will focus on what Hawkins considered to be three cases of ‘raising’, illustrated for English in (1)–(3).

(1) Frank seems to be at home. ['Subject-to-Subject Raising']
(2) I believe Frank to be at home. ['Subject-to-Object Raising']
(3) Frank is tough to please. ['Object-to-Subject Raising']

The original Hawkins (1986) conclusion (endorsed by König and Gast 2007: 211) is that German is more restricted, either because the raising construction is impossible or because it is possible with only a subset of the predicates that allow it in English. It will be shown that Dutch is ‘between’ German and English for each of the three subtypes, but rather more like German for Subject-to-Subject and Subject-to-Object Raising, and rather more like English for Object-to-Subject Raising. Both the intermediate status of Dutch raising and the fact that this intermediacy may put Dutch closer to either German or English can be related to other aspects of the contrastive typology of West Germanic.

I present novel data and analysis of OV/VO word order variation in early Middle English, from a theoretical perspective that combines formal syntax and insights from discourse studies with variationist statistical analysis. It has often been said in the literature that the loss of OV word order in the course of Middle English started, like so many innovations, in the North and diffused to the South. This is broadly correct as far as it goes, but is not particularly informative. Sub-types of OV order are differentially lost in dialects and it is poorly understood how and why. I start from the account of word order in terms of interaction of syntax and discourse proposed for Old English in van Kemenade, Milicev and Baayen (2008), van Kemenade (2008) and further explore one consequence of this account which is interesting and illuminating for an understanding of the (dialectally diffuse) loss of OV word order in Middle English. It is argued that in Old English, much more strongly than in Middle English, word order is organised in terms of discourse domains: constituents that occur “early” in the clause refer back specifically to a discourse antecedent – this includes all kinds of pronouns, but also NP’s with a weak demonstrative pronoun, which is definite, but crucially also specific, allowing discourse-sensitive scrambling. There is thus a significant relation between the preverbal position of a constituent and the presence of a demonstrative pronoun. In this paper I will demonstrate the dialectal correlation between the loss of demonstrative pronouns (their recategorization as definite determiner, understood as loss of specificity, though not of definiteness), and the loss of OV order.


The literature on complementation has focused primarily on verbal rather than adjectival complementation (e.g., Givón 1980; Noonan 1985; Wierzbicka 1988; Noël 2003), and accounts of modality have concentrated mainly on modal auxiliaries rather than adjectives expressing modal meanings (e.g., Coates 1983; Palmer 1986, 2001; Bybee et al. 1994; Van der Auwera and Plungian 1998). This paper intends to fill the gap with regard to adjectives in these two domains: it presents a functional account of the clausal complementation patterns found with deontic-evaluative adjectives in Present-Day English. The adjectives under investigation are listed in (1) in terms of weak versus strong lexical meaning. In particular, this paper will examine that-clauses and to-clauses occurring in extraposition constructions (ECs), as in (2) and (3)-(4) respectively.

(1) (a) weak: appropriate, good, fitting, important, proper, suitable (b) strong: critical, crucial, essential, indispensable, necessary, needful, vital

(2) Dearest Battista It seems good, that you should profit from this occasion and open yourself to Padre Caresana about your future; he is the best person to give you advice. (CB)

(3) With the scourge of illegal narcotics infecting every part of the world, it is crucial to educate young people about the dangers of drugs. (CB)

(4) During your stay, hospital medicine will be administered as appropriate. If it is necessary for you to take medicine home with you, these will be provided. (CB)

Apart from charting the formal distribution of complements, the paper also examines the semantics of the [matrix + complement] construction. More specifically, it will be argued that the adjectival constructions can express three types of meaning, and that the semantic distribution is lexically determined. First, situational dynamic meaning, which involves indications of possibilities/necessities inherent in situations (Nuyts 2006: 4), can only be expressed by strong adjectives (cf. (4)). Second, deontic meaning can be expressed by both types of adjectives (cf. (2)-(3)). Third, evaluative meaning can only be expressed by weak adjectives. The distinction between deontic and evaluative meaning will be proposed to hinge on the ontological status of the complement. More precisely, constructions with complements expressing a potential State of Affairs (SoA), as in (2) and (3), will be taken to express deontic modal meaning, as the speaker estimates the degree of (moral) desirability of the SoAs (Nuyts 2005: 9-10). Constructions with complements expressing an already actualised SoA do not have this deontic flavour; they are merely evaluative. Examples of the latter type are given below.

(5) It’s important that the NEC is now dominated by members of the Shadow Cabinet. (CB)

(6) It was poignant and entirely fitting that the nation should fall silent for one minute on Sunday to demonstrate its sympathy for Dunblane’s awful loss (report, March 18, 1996 (March 13, a massacre took place in Dunblane, Scotland) (CB)

(7) It is good to see an English-bred horse showing looseness and three scope paces and, although the changes are not yet easy for him, he has much potential. (CB)

At the moment of speaking, the actions expressed by the clausal complements have been actualised (in (6)) or are being actualised (in (5) and (7)). Unlike in (2) and (3), the speaker does not want the complement SoAs to happen; s/he merely evaluates their actualisation positively. As both the deontic and evaluative examples are construed with both that- and to-clauses, the formal distinction cross-cuts the semantic division proposed here. On the basis of these findings,
this paper proposes a functional map, in which the formal, semantic, and lexical distinctions will be incorporated. This study draws on data from the Cobuild Corpus, and involves a qualitative as well as a quantitative analysis. The qualitative analysis is based on samples that are either exhaustive or consist of 100 examples per adjective. The quantitative analysis focuses on extraposed to-clauses (all exhaustive samples), and is a multiple distinctive collexeme analysis (cf. Gries and Stefanowitsch 2004).

While the echo question (henceforth EQ, exemplified in 1) has long interested scholars (e.g. Bolinger 1957, 1987; Banfield 1982; McCawley 1987; Ginzburg and Sag 2001 to name but a few), it has recently received ample attention in the framework of Relevance Theory (Blakemore 1994, Noh 1998, Iwata 2003) in which ‘echo’ is defined as a combination of a metarepresentation and an attitude expressed towards this metarepresentation.

(1) Have you ever heard of Sigmund Freud? – Have I ever heard of Sigmund Freud?

Against this background, the present paper re-examines the claim made by Yamaguchi (1994) that EQs are a form of reported speech. In a first step, it is argued that the type of reported speech EQs have most in common with is ‘distancing indirect speech/thought’ or DIST (Vandelanotte 2004a). Unlike in direct or free indirect speech, where there are full or partial deictic shifts to the represented speaker’s deictic centre, in DIST the deictic centre is held constant even though the current speaker clearly borrows from a separate represented speaker’s discourse, which she appropriates and uses either more associatively or more dissociatively (cf. Vandelanotte 2004b, Dancygier and Vandelanotte forthcoming).

In a second step, the possibility that EQs should be included in the category of DIST (or indeed any other category of reported speech) is considered and rejected. At least three constructional properties differ between them: the involvement of two speech situations (in reported speech) vs. only one (in EQs), as shown also by tense use across ‘echoed’ utterance and EQ; the necessary involvement of ‘attitude’ in DIST, vs. its absence in some EQs, which can metarepresent without expressing attitudes of dissociation; and the non-change (DIST) vs. change (EQs) in speech function, since EQs by their very nature impose a questioning attitude on the metarepresented utterance, whereas reported speech does not.


Many of the currently controversial issues in the context of grammaticalization are due to the lack of a uniform idea of what exactly the notion of ‘grammaticalization’ comprises. As a consequence of these difficulties, I shall propose a delimitation of the notion of ‘grammaticalization’ to Meillet’s original concept, thus reducing the concept to the change from a lexical to a (more) functional element. Any process comprised in a wider sense of the term ‘grammaticalization’ – including any development of a grammatical morpheme or construction, irrespective of its source, and including the emergence of a grammatical category in a particular language, irrespective of how the morphological material coding this category came into being – will then be treated as processes distinct from, albeit potentially concomitant with (Meillet’s) ‘grammaticalization’. Other micro-processes that potentially, but not necessarily, co-occur with grammaticalization (in this narrow sense) are to be located on different linguistic levels and should therefore be treated as distinct processes. These are, for instance, attrition (phonology); reanalysis, univerbation (morphosyntax), but also phenomena like ‘functional reduction’ (Norde), ‘innovation’ (Lehmann), ‘renovation’ (Lehmann) or ‘deflexion’ (Norde).

The result will be a more fine-grained perspective on what can generally be termed ‘grammatical change’. In this paper, I shall use the example of the various Middle and Modern English instantiations of the Old English noun *lic* ‘body’ and the history of the PDE possessive marker *s* to demonstrate potential advantages of this model on grammatical change. I shall try to demonstrate that such a perspective may provide a new impetus for a number of currently debated theoretical questions.

In 1889, the fifth volume of Alexander Ellis’ *On Early English Pronunciation* (Ellis 1889) was published. As indicated in the subtitle, its aim was to establish existing dialectal pronunciations and compare them to “traditional” (West Saxon) ones. However, Ellis’ diligent work allows conclusions on much more than accents.

Ellis primarily used an indirect method to collect information from all over England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland. A comparative specimen, consisting of 15 two- to three-line paragraphs to be translated into the local dialect by (educated) natives, was sent out in early stages of the project. However, the rather long piece proved to be too ambitious, and was later substituted by a short dialect test. A word list was also used, and the information from these indirect sources was supplemented by fieldwork in a manner very similar to that of the SED fieldworkers almost a century later (cf. Ellis 1889: 4–5).

This paper will show how Ellis’ dialect test and comparative specimen can be used to establish regional distributions of such features as relative markers, negation patterns, and personal pronoun forms. When checking maps based on Ellis’ data against those based on the published SED material, the similarities – despite a time difference of almost 70 years – are striking. Moreover, comparing locations targeted by Ellis and later by the SED fieldworkers reveals a certain indebtedness of the latter to the former – it seems highly unlikely that such a huge overlap is coincidental.

So why does Ellis’ work remain largely unused (or even unknown)? Shorrocks (1991: 324) cites later scholars’ negative attitude (particularly those of SED fame like Eugen Dieth and Joseph Wright) towards Ellis’ work as one of the main reasons why many present-day researchers have not even heard of Ellis as a dialectologist. This paper is an attempt at remedying this situation.

In this paper, I compare the use of articles in several varieties of English using the International Corpus of English. Instances of untypical uses of the, a/an and zero in non-native varieties will be demonstrated and accounted for semantically and pragmatically. All uses of the will be seen as encoding identifiability. In untypical uses, sometimes this identifiability is forced upon the hearer, resulting in a continuum of acceptability, i.e. the extent to which this identifiability can be pragmatically accepted by the hearer. It will be proposed that the least acceptable ones signal ‘specificity’ in the sense that a speaker explicitly indicates possession of knowledge of the NP’s entity to the hearer but does not identify it.

The untypical use of a/an often presupposes a recategorisation of countness of the entities involved. It will be suggested that the way similar entities are construed in the substrate languages may play a part in this phenomenon. Syntactically, this is supported by the presence of premodifiers making the usually noncount entity an instance of a kind. An untypical use of a/an can also mean that an otherwise uniquely identifiable referent is reduced of its maximum quantity (inclusiveness), bringing forth the interpretation that other similar entities, although highly unusual, are available.

The untypical uses of the zero article are of three types. One, what is otherwise known as omission of the definite article can be a carried-over feature from an article-less substrate language where speakers expect hearers to uniquely identify referents of definite NPs based on the pragmatic context i.e., without any explicit definiteness marking. Two, omission of a/an can mean that the otherwise count entity is reconfigured as a concept following the application of maximum extensivity (generality), courtesy of the null article. Three, omission of a/an is also due to the speaker’s expectation of the hearer to construe a non-identifiable entity based on the pragmatic context.

English has a number of constructions with specialized usages (preposings, inversions, pseudoclefts, etc.) whose grammatical properties can be captured elegantly in a construction grammar setting. This talk will address the desideratum of explaining why the constructions exist and why they behave the way they do. We will pursue this issue from the point of view of communicative purposes.
This paper presents a quantitative corpus linguistic approach to the omission of nonobligatory relativizers in contemporary British English. English relative clauses (RC) are usually introduced by a relativizing element (R). However, in the case of nonsubject relative clauses such an element may be omitted as illustrated in (1) – (4).

(1) The man\textsubscript{RC} \[ R[\textit{that|who}] \text{you saw \_\_i on the plane\_\_i} \] carried a concealed explosive.
(2) The man\textsubscript{RC} \[ [\emptyset] \text{you saw \_\_i on the plane\_\_i} \] carried a concealed explosive. [Object RC]
(3) The man\textsubscript{RC} \[ R[\textit{that|who}] \text{walked into the cockpit area\_\_i} \] had a weird look in his eyes.
(4) *The man\textsubscript{RC} \[ [\emptyset] \text{walked into the cockpit area\_\_i} \] had a weird look in his eyes. [Subject RC]

In the attempt to account for this type of variation, prior research has identified a number of discourse-pragmatic and processing-related factors and, correspondingly, has proposed different explanations for the phenomenon (c.f., e.g., Bock and Warren 1985, Fox and Thompson 1990, Gibson 1998, Hawkins 2004, Jaeger and Wasow to appear, Prat-Sala and Branigan 2000, Temperley 2003, Tottie 1995). For the present study, a sample of 400 non-subject relative clauses was extracted from the spoken part of the British component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-GB) and described with respect to the factors that have been suggested as determinants for this type of grammatical choice. Whereas the rich annotation of the ICE-GB corpus made it possible to automatically retrieve many morphosyntactic factors, all semantic and discourse-pragmatic characteristics were added manually. From a total set of 25 descriptor variables, subsets were selected that each comprised of only the factors associated with a particular explanation. To assess the predictive power of competing accounts, binary logistic regression models were built for each subset, which allowed for a subsequent direct comparison of explanations that have been proposed so far. Lastly, the minimal adequate model was identified, which was not restricted to any particular set of factors but could include factors from different accounts.

The analysis reveals that the best predictions are possible when the descriptors include information about the ‘definiteness’, ‘concreteness’, and ‘contentfulness’ of the head, as well as the presence of a ‘uniqueness adjective’ and the ‘inherent accessibility’ of the subject of the relative clause proper. It is argued that the results are best explained from a usage-based perspective on linguistic knowledge (Barlow and Kemmer 2000).

In the dedication of his *British Grammar*, James Buchanan continues the above by saying that English is “the Vernacular Tongue of the most Virtuous, most Potent, and best Beloved Monarch upon Earth (1762: no page). In the grammar attributed to Gildon and Brightland we learn that to adopt foreign words “is to Debase, not Advance, our Native and Masculine Tongue” (1711: preface without pagination). John Ash claims the following in his *Grammatical Institutes*: “The Importance of an *English Education* is now pretty well understood; and it is generally acknowledged, that not only for Ladies, but for young Gentlemen designed merely for Trade, an intimate Acquaintance with the Proprieties and Beauties of the *English Tongue*, would be avery desirable and necessary Attainment; far preferable to a Smattering of the learned Languages.” (1786: iii) Even though the given quotes refer to different (language) matters, the nationalist character of them cannot be mistaken. Looking at key excerpts from 18th-century English grammars, I would like to tackle the question, whether it is reasonable to assume that national attitudes were incentive to authors to write their grammars.


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Recent studies such as Hay/Plag (2004) and Baayen/Plag (forthcoming), have provided evidence that English suffix combinations are constrained by both structural and processing restrictions. Two suffixes can only combine if their grammatical and semantic characteristics allow them to do so, and if the resulting combination is well processable. Well processable are those combinations in which a less parsable suffix occurs inside a more parsable one. This idea, *Complexity Based Ordering (CBO)*, was first put forward by Hay (2003).

Studies testing affix combinability have, however, exclusively focussed on suffixes, which raises the question of whether prefix combinations are constrained by the same factors. This paper will answer this question through an investigation of the combinatorial properties of 15 English prefixes, following Hay/Plag’s (2004) methodology. First, the OED, BNC, and CELEX are checked for attestations of the 225 potential two-prefix-combinations. Second, it is worked out which combinations are structurally possible and which are impossible, by consulting the pertinent literature on word-formation (e.g. Marchand 1969, Adams 2001, Plag 2003) for information on the structural characteristics of the prefixes. Third, is tested whether *CBO* holds for prefix-prefix-combinations. This is done by attempting to order the prefixes hierarchically on the basis of attested combinations, and by checking whether the hierarchical ranks correlate with measures of parsability.

The investigation reveals that structural restrictions alone cannot account for the distribution of attested vs. unattested two-prefix-combinations, as only a small proportion of structurally possible combinations are actually attested. It is demonstrated that, in addition to the structural restrictions, prefix combinations are indeed subject to processing constraints: The 15 prefixes can be hierarchically ordered and their ranking significantly correlates with their hapax-conditioned productivity, which is a strong indicator of parsability (Hay/Baayen 2002). The paper therefore provides evidence that *CBO* also holds for prefix-combinations.